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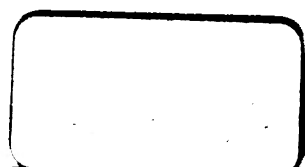
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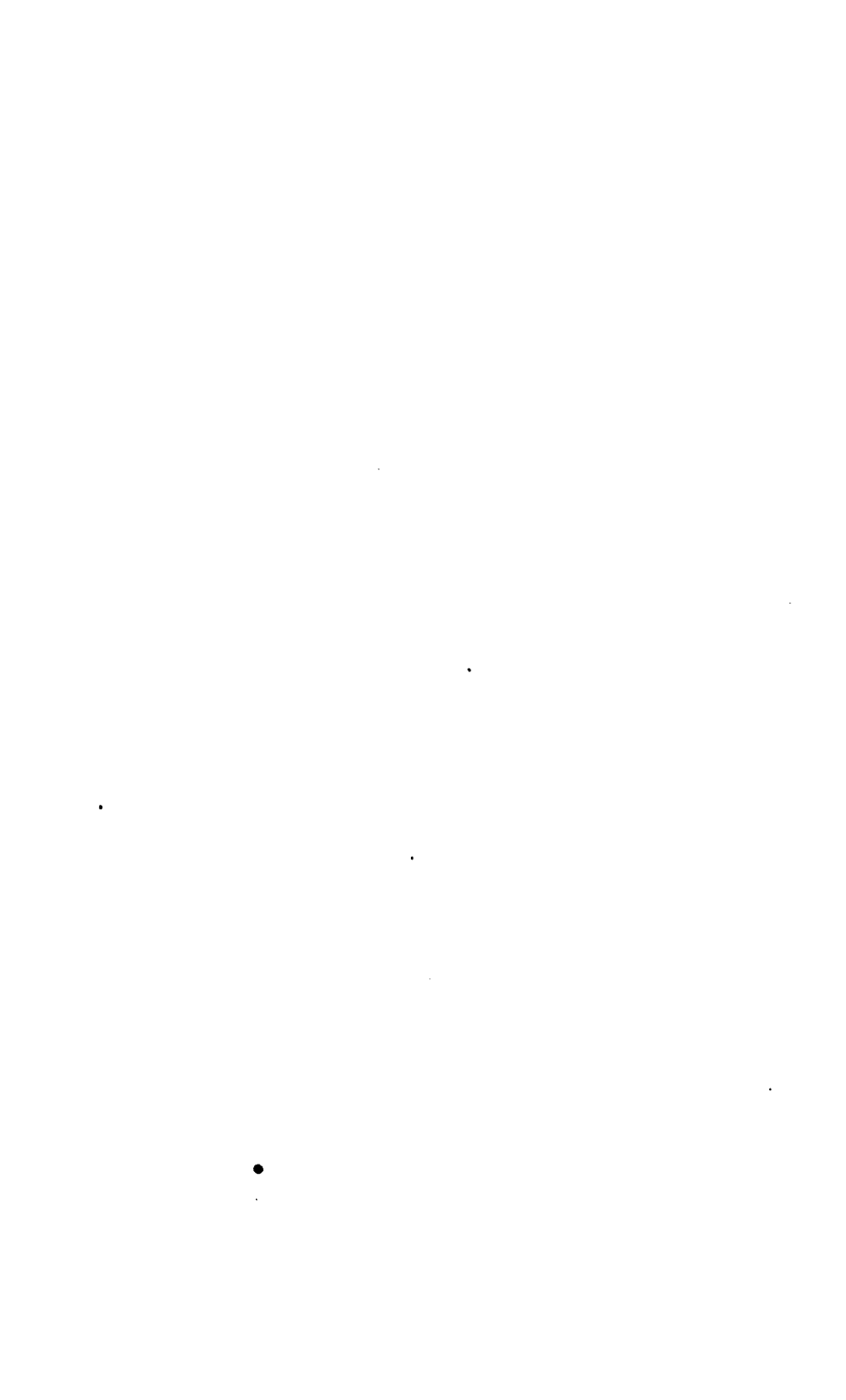
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THE
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ART. I. — THE WOMAN QUESTION.*

IN looking about for a convenient handle with which to get a grasp of this subject, the Scriptural narrative of Mary and Martha presented itself, together with recollections of sundry difficulties which we had heard women urge against it. This will serve to introduce the limitations and distinctions of which the subject is sorely in need, and which the womanly nature itself seems to justify.

“Thou art careful and troubled about many things”: in other words, thou art anxious and distressed about many domestic cares. Martha, being the elder sister and principal housekeeper, was naturally concerned to provide suitable entertainment for the exalted guest. But the account says that she was cumbered about much serving; a hint to us that she was a woman inclined to exaggerate the importance of the domestic routine, and fretted herself with the little boastfulness of her hospitality. The emphasis does not fall upon the “much serving,” but upon the “cumbered,” plainly meaning

* 1. *Woman's Rights commensurate with her Capacities and Obligations. A Series of Tracts.* Syracuse (New York): J. E. Masters. 1853. 8vo.

2. *The Angel over the Right Shoulder.* Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1852. 16mo. pp. 32.

that she tried to do too much, and that she worried in doing it. If the amount of necessary service really exceeded her ability, the guest would not have held Mary in conversation while Martha drudged. It seems, however, that Martha was in a distracting dilemma between her desire to do what she considered hospitable, and to hear the talk that was going on between her sister and Jesus. Doubtless she caught just enough of it to excite a feeling of pique at her sister's selfish unconsciousness of the necessary service of the house; not that she wanted to destroy her sister's pleasure, but that she wanted to share it. What a touch of nature there is in her remonstrance! We see her, with some sacred utensil of the domestic altar in either hand, emerging at last, not without slight appearance of heat, where the high and solemn talk was going on: "Lord, dost thou not care that my sister hath left me to serve alone? Bid her therefore that she help me." *Dost thou not care?* — an adroit appeal to the sense of duty and to the complaisance of the guest. The soaring conversation collapsed in a moment, and Mary undoubtedly vanished with vexed step into the interior. Jesus, however, mindful that Martha's prevailing disposition was to love trifles rather than truth, and to be more readily absorbed in putting her house than her mind or heart in order, was not prevented, by the fine flattery of her anxiety to hear him, from administering a rebuke to her bustling and superficial spirit: "Thou art careful and troubled about many things; but one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her."

But we hear numerous women immediately saying, not without indignation: "What! and are we to neglect our household cares, on the pretence that they absorb our time and strength, which could be far more profitably devoted to the pursuit of truth? Shall we tell our exacting husbands that but one thing is needful, and that we intend to commence the practice of contemplation, with idle Mary for our model? And while we choose that good part which shall not be taken away from us, who will choose the duties which we have left behind? While our husbands are absent in pursuit of the means for living, who will regulate the daily service, anticipate the coming guests, preserve the decencies of modern life,

rock the cradles, and prepare the shining morning faces willingly for school? But one thing is needful? Would that it were so! Nobody but the absent-minded scholar or the contemplative teacher ever imagines that it is a trivial thing to keep house, or ever expects a thousand vexing details to be compressed into half a dozen hours, leaving the rest of the time for him to read the poets to us, or for us to woo serene philosophy without an interruption. It is fortunate, indeed, if we find time enough in the course of a day to read so much as this brief account of *Mary and Martha*: as for imitating Mary, we can, when we have no more cares than she had: in the mean time we sympathize with Martha, — all but her petulance, — and have already found to our cost, that, let us cry ever so loudly to husband or employer, ‘Dost thou not care that all this service is put upon me?’ nobody is ready to reply, ‘But one thing is needful.’ Did not Martha fill her sphere and serve God better by discharging the domestic routine, than if she sat to listen to instructive talk while the house was left to take care of itself? It is only the multitude of *Marthas* that makes a few *Marys* practicable. Let those few, then, instead of abusing their opportunity in a bland, æsthetic leisure, or in preaching women’s rights, show the women how the ‘good part’ of Mary can be combined with the service of Martha; for that is the only veritable woman question.”

That is indeed, we confess. We may justify the rebuke which Jesus administered to Martha by supposing that she loved the cares which cumbered her. Either a commonplace disposition, or voluntary habit, had reconciled her to dwell within the narrow, but friendly, horizon of her housekeeping. Her desire to hear Jesus did not flow out of some regular and secret aspiration, but was the result of accidental curiosity. But Martha does not represent all women; least of all, the women of modern civilization. In the East, even to the present day, venerable custom confines woman rigidly to domestic toil; and when she steps abroad, it is only to perform various kinds of drudgery which more properly should fall to man. When we recollect that the larger part of the women in Jerusalem were specially bred to domestic or field labor, and inherited no tradition or hope of any

other kind of life, it seems hard to understand why Martha should be rebuked. She was a faithful representative of national and immemorial habits; all her countrywomen had been specially trained to be cumbered about much serving. The word *service* exhausted their idea of life, and the number of Marys must have been as small as the number of prophets. It is singular to reflect that universal education is an entirely fresh idea, though the modern world finds it an important preparative for pure and undefiled religion. The elements and means of universal culture did not exist at the Christian era. A few fortunate men in each generation, and about half a dozen women in as many thousand years of ancient civilization, devoted themselves to the existing philosophy and art. Of all places in the world, and during the brightest epochs of Greece and Rome, Jerusalem provided the scantiest schooling for her children. In her best estate, and when, in spite of her exclusiveness, a little of the Grecian spirit had been smuggled within her walls, nothing but verses of the ancient law and preposterous Talmudic traditions finished the education of the young of either sex. Out of all those generations of Hebrew women cumbered with much serving, not the name of a single reflective, refined, or cultivated woman has descended to us. Miriam, Jael, Judith, Deborah, represented a rather ferocious style of patriotism; Jephtha's daughter was a kind of Hebrew Iphigenia, and the soft Ruth was a type of the amiable, undeveloped woman found in all ages and nations. Spirit and heart, and all the natural sentiments, these women had, like those of Greece and Rome; but not a spark of mind.

During the late meetings of the Teacher's Institute in this city,* we were impressed with the aid which modern times brought, in clearness and material, if not in a regenerative spirit, to the spiritual sentiments of man. How marked it became, when the Professor of Natural History interpreted the scripture of the earth itself, and who,

* An association, presided over by the Secretary of the Board of Education, having for its object the delivery of lectures, in various towns of the Commonwealth, to teachers, upon scientific and pedagogic subjects. Among other distinguished men, it engages the personal interest of Professor Agassiz, whose developments of the logic of the earth through its various epochs are full of impressive facts and suggestions.

while he seemed only to be classifying reptiles and fishes, and describing their uncouth forms upon the board, was stating the logic of God in these mute terms of his creation, and developing the wonderful yet simple idea from the first throb of life into the present manifoldness.

Was it not a commentary of the scientific understanding of a religious man upon the lecture of Jesus amid the lilies of the field and the birds-of the air, furnishing religious sentiment with its appropriate logic, enriching it with the wonders of a universe? And women listened, as well as men, drinking in appropriate demonstration of the Father, and *learning to declare* Him whom men ignorantly worship. The spiritual man does not demand this natural wisdom for his own faith and comfort; on the contrary, it reveals nothing of itself, and continues to be an unexplained fragment till organized and interpreted by the intuitions of the soul. But when the religious nature takes the pains to become furnished with science and discovery, it can meet the natural understanding on its own ground, and compel the investigation of a restless age to acknowledge the supremacy of Christian principles, by showing the unity of the Creator's thought.

The universal education of both sexes is a modern, we might almost say, an English idea. It would not be difficult to show how the introduction of the Greek and Roman literature suddenly awakened the European mind, and how that awakened mind has gradually found in the latent tendencies of our religion a mighty aid and justification; how, for instance, the value which Jesus placed upon a human soul, and his constant reference to internal sources of light and improvement, will develop naturally into a style of education for both sexes which will dwarf and eclipse our present boasted system. Let the roused intellect soar ever so high, or penetrate ever so profoundly, the spirit of Jesus will emulate the flight and bear a clear torch for its researches. But when he lived and spoke, he was content to leave in the world the seeds of a vital faith and the principles of righteousness, not prophesying the future instrumentalities which have developed them, nor the mental powers which introduced, interpreted, and defended them.

Why then, again remonstrates woman, should Martha, the genuine Hebrew woman, with her little stock of

Scripture and Talmud, taught nothing more scientific than to make her leavened bread, forbidden by law to learn a foreign language, with not even a copy of the ancient Testament for her perusal, no theatre nor conventicle, no book-club nor concert-room, neither newspapers nor cheap publications, to elevate the moments of her leisure, — why should she be handed down to posterity as a narrow-minded and inglorious woman because she happened to like the trifles which composed her universe? And why should Mary have all the love and honor, when, as a younger sister, and unmarried, she had very little domestic responsibility, and could afford to indulge her reveries, or sit, nourishing her sincere respect, at the feet of the Great Teacher? We venture to say that, among modern women, quite as few have the narrow ambition of Martha as the leisure of Mary. Universal education has expanded the desires of woman without increasing her opportunities. She cannot help reflecting a portion of the general enlightenment, but some day comes when she is shut up with cares and an interminable succession of depressing trifles, and the spheres of culture and thought are virtually blotted out of her experience. We do not speak of the very few whose worldly means enable them to use to surfeit the time and toil of others; but of the great majority who are tied down to their routine, each day bringing to them the wearing alternation of sickness and accident, food and clothing, cleaning, sewing, economizing, wrestling against time and circumstances, and toiling on to hear the husband announce to them that jubilee-day of a competency, which, alas! dawns for most of them only after death has stiffened those laborious and faithful fingers. And when does a competency ever come to any modern man, that does not bring with it new ambitions and factitious arrangements, which absorb the time of the woman almost as much as her personal toil did, so that she gains the benefit of ease without the benefit of leisure. Or if leisure at last spreads its calm through her dwelling, it comes too late; for toil and watching have worn out her young desires, and so far obliterated the drill of her early teachers, that it is a painful effort to attempt any thing beyond the last novel or the current gossip of her circle. At a time when habits are fixed, and the brain itself has become fatally

conformed to an unintelligent and practical routine, perhaps an opportunity comes to open the fountains of thought and art, to spread before her the elevated page, to enlarge her vision and experience with the meditations of all the world's prophets. It comes in vain. The heart is almost tired of propelling its vital current, faithful service has stiffened the dancing organs of her prime, and those thin lines across the forehead, which hours of gayety cannot laugh away, have cut through and through the brain, dispersing its harmony, lopping its original ambitions, and putting back its serviceable action to a level with its earliest efforts. The rest of her life must be a sort of paradise of ease, proud with the success, blasted with the failure, of her children, but not even piqued to one more original effort by all their triumphant energies, which recall to her memory the buoyant steps of maidenhood.

Do we think that women view with content this inevitable result of our raw and restless civilization? Even if a life of routine schools them at last into apathy, do we suppose that the whole process from the beginning has been submitted to with equanimity? When the pressure is first felt, and the beautiful liberty of years unchartered by toil and watching is resigned for ever, the woman calls back her ideal of life, that she may sorrowfully readjust it with the materials of her task-work. She tries to patch her duties with a few pieces out of the wreck of her freedom, and struggles for a year or two with this grotesque combination of incessant care with snatches of reading, shreds of culture, fits of meditation; but the trifles come thronging too thickly, — those Bedouins of the desert, light-armed and volatile enough, but fast and persevering, making up for weight in pertinacity, — till at last she submits to change the tactics of her life into a continual skirmishing with these foragers. The moments when will and freedom revolt are not always spoken; the sighs wafted after her hopes of mental excellence, and her fugitive visions of duty dressed in the ornaments of taste and knowledge, do not always pass her lips to vex the outer air. But as she sits at last in middle age, pondering over her dress-patterns, trifling with the fictitious freedoms and emotions of the last novel, discussing the neighborhood with crochet-needles

in her fingers, what louder or more significant protest could she make, though she sought some platform to declaim her indignation against the social system which has starved her mind and rudely tried heart?

We consider that there is an overwhelming necessity to discuss the question of woman's rights; but we have never yet found in the programme of a single meeting convened for that purpose a statement of the actual wrong which our civilization does to woman. It is a shameful thing that selfish traders should cut down the wages of the poor seamstress to a point where her only choice remains between vice and misery. Let all such employers, in whatsoever trade, be reminded of their dastardly conduct in language of appropriate strength and significance; they are forbidding the poor to thrive, and that is a right common both to man and woman. It is also a cruel oversight of legislation which permits the drunkard to complete his ruin with the little earnings of his wife, wrung amid care and sorrow out of the universal competition. Let that point too be agitated till the law interposes between drunken tyranny and defenceless toil. Let the female teacher demand her just compensation for a degree of labor and nervous exhaustion fully equal to that which is shared by all who exercise the sacred function. Instead of the very inadequate pittance which the common notion of the cheapness of female labor assigns to her, let her receive grade for grade, time for time, work for work, with man, — and a little more, as a premium to win such fair and delicate organization to the depressing labor. Let all people who task and drive the nerves of women, whether committee-men or master-tradesmen, hear plain language upon her right to have her toil a source of revenue, and the foundation of her prosperity and freedom. And if there be a single point relating to property, or touching divorce and the destination of the children, which bears harshly and unnaturally upon the woman, let it be urged upon the public conscience. Some of the above details might be easily adjusted by legislation, and were they simply stated, with the arguments strictly appropriate to them, would meet with little opposition. Others will depend for redress upon the refinement of public opinion; and when we reflect how steadily and joyously woman has

emerged from her former constraint, vindicating with every step her ability to help and to instruct, as well as to adorn and serve, we may expect to see every prejudice which prolongs a real grievance soon subsiding, and the rights of woman restrained only by the inexorable conditions of her nature. But such conditions are not accepted in the public eloquence which is devoted to this question. The real trouble lies far deeper than the grievances above mentioned, and would not be reached were women to mix freely in all public and political affairs, enjoy the right of suffrage, and be eligible to the chairs of education and of government. We propose now to consider these claims which are made in behalf of woman; and we shall introduce herself as the most powerful witness against the cause which bears her name.

Shall woman mix freely in all public and political affairs, and be eligible to administrative posts? Some think that they are safely answering this question by saying, "She shall if she can." We say, she ought not if she could, for the reason that the ability and opportunity to exercise those functions would be fatal to finer and nobler ones, for which every government stands in pressing need. The most delicate and responsible public duty is coarse and mechanical compared with the penetrating, organizing power of a faithful, genuine woman. When we hear a woman urging her right to be a politician if she can, and to be a cabinet minister if she can train appropriate faculties, we seem to hear a queen uttering her voluntary abdication, and asking to exchange her sceptre for a hod. Indeed, according to our analysis of the feminine nature, a woman thus betraying such an ambition has little but her sex and her attire to vouch for her feminality. The organic conditions and elements which make a woman, as distinguished from a female, have been warped or stunted in her according to some law of inheritance; and she resembles the doubtful specimens which occupy the penumbra between different species, in whom the normal type has been disturbed. So we find some men who possess *in minus* that peculiar grouping of mental faculties which characterizes men, and of which sex and countenance are only the most superficial indications. We call such men feminine, not because

they share the womanly elements ; for no man can be well balanced or complete who does not share them. They are, indeed, the presence of Christianity within the manly mind, and the true woman inherits and preserves for us the quality of that power which her Master once represented when he displayed the meek courage and truth of his beatitudes. Within the limits of his manly nature there grew into life the perfection possible to every real woman, — equally impossible to her who is only a female or to him who is effeminate. We call such a man feminine, not because he has the spirit of the beatitudes, — for if he had that, he would possess a man's essential saving power, — but because he has not the internal masculine characteristics. So that whether there be much or little of the woman in him, at any rate he is not a man. He bears the same relation to the masculine type as the womanish female bears to the womanly type, and he too has nothing but his sex and his attire to vindicate his name of John or James. Imagine now this feminine individual pleading for the right to share the occupations of the women ; not that he means to unsex himself, and lay aside the robust, masculine elements, — O no ! but he insists upon the identity of his capacity with that of a woman, and will no longer be debarred from his natural privilege to knit and starch, to sew and mend. Heaven defend us from such sowing and mending, and equally from the administrative efforts of discontented females ! Their assumption of a man's right has no more corroboration in woman's essential, typical nature, than the leaning of this effeminate male person towards womanly employments has in the intrinsic nature of a man.

What is the spiritual difference between the two sexes ? " God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him ; male and female created he them." Here is a text, to whose literalness both science and the Gospel lend an unexpected meaning. It was necessary, then, in order to represent the image of God in humanity, to create both a male and female nature ; either one, alone, could not furnish a human representation of the creative intention. The nature of God comprehends the spiritual characteristics of both sexes, existing in undistinguishable unity. There must be a previous reason in

the nature of the Creator for this division of humanity into two permanent types; mere physical and terrestrial convenience will not account for this duality, and we may expect to find that the types are absolutely distinct in spiritual quality, while each is complementary to the other. If the divine tendencies could have been satisfied by the creation of man alone, woman would have been alike impossible and unimaginable. When, therefore, we plainly find that God did not attain the crowning act of his creation without expressing himself in two separate forms, which are constantly tending back into the original unity, we ought to look for the spiritual difference which is the ground of this double creation. It cannot be accidental, it cannot be a temporary and corruptible convenience. On the other hand, the difference which commenced with the creation of the first vegetation, and was continued in the creation of the first animals, was only physical, not symbolical of spiritual distinctions, but only perfecting the superficial relations of the soul's first state. What was previously in the mind of God is therefore to be found in the dual human mind which is the image of God. Let us therefore examine it.

The commonly received notion makes woman to differ from man in lack of judgment and in an unreflecting exuberance of the emotional nature. It is said that man thinks and woman feels. It is true that woman herself has lent color to this idea, by submitting, too contentedly, to the sway of sentiment, except when temporal exigencies within her sphere have compelled her to judge and to reflect. But upon such compulsion she has invariably refuted the popular idea, by manifesting a natural good sense, a power of adaptation, a choice of means, and a rational foresight, that are very far from being universal with the thinking man. Especially among the middle classes and the self-dependent, where man's resources are tasked to the utmost, woman also unfolds resources, and admirably meets the constraint or misery of her condition. She is the ready-witted helpmeet, inexhaustible in contrivances, alike valuable for good sense and for good cheer, and possessing the rare power to exercise the judgment while the stupor of despair pervades the home. If the annals of the middle and lower classes could be written, not a page would go unilluminated with the

memory of some counsellor and heroine, whose blessed Scripture name was rebaptized in the wisdom and the power of God. The tact and sagacity of woman in educating and directing the minds of her children are particularly noticeable. Where man, with his public, his literary, his artistic ability, would be at a loss for counsel, or very likely would defeat by his meddling the salutary purpose, the woman speaks the inevitable word that was wanted, and skilfully modifies the tone and shape of her instruction to the various temperaments of her children. This in man is called judgment; why should it be called instinct in a woman? It is a reflecting process flowing out of her combined causality and constructiveness, and directed by the will. Of course we shall find that the feminine quality modifies and predestines the expression of woman's brain; but so long as it presents, in some form and combination, the same organs with that of a man, so that an exigency almost always finds her capable, it is useless to attribute emotion or intuitive sensibility to her, as her essential, sexual characteristic. And how much more capable will she become, when a liberal, manifold, and long-sustained education gives to her mental powers the necessary drill!

What then is the sexual distinction of her soul? How can we explain something which according to its very essence is to be felt? When we can explain warmth or joy, then we can explain the womanly elements. It is not the addition or subtraction of a faculty, but it is an original refinement in the devising of the soul itself, which colors and penetrates all the faculties, and contrasts the feminine with the masculine objectiveness. It is not that man is active and woman is passive, for woman has an activity equal to, though distinct from, that of man. It is not that man organizes life for her, bestows his gifts upon her, while she is simply receptive of his energies; for the organizing and encircling power of woman's spirit is greater than that of man's, even as the beatitudes are greater and more profoundly constructive than the categories of Aristotle or the induction of Bacon. If you could analyze a woman's influence, you could detect the spiritual element of her sex. Does she refine and exalt our life? Those are very vague phrases, to be found in every sonnet to a woman's eye-

brow. The truth of science, the beauty of art, also refine and exalt us. The influence of music, the most subtle and spiritual of all human expressions, penetrates our inmost nature, and yet not a single woman has been a composer of music. Singular fact! when she has passion and sentiment most richly empurpling her queenly nature, when her song or her tragic pathos opens the long-hidden fountain of our tears, and the south wind of her emotions, summoned to the speed of the hurricane, sweeps us all away faint and unresisting. Yet she has never breathed through the sweetness, or wielded the divine rage, of the orchestra; and the most subtle medium of human refinement is monopolized by man. We should not expect from her the restless thought and longing, the appealing themes, the passionate modulations, the sinewy, majestic harmony of the symphony, for the womanly nature is already framed for content rather than for obstinate questionings and misgivings, and seeks the repose of love rather than the excitement of passion or the conflict of human emotions. But it is singular that she has never summoned the instruments to express themes of tender meditation or of modest and noble sentiments; that no solemn *andantes* embody her loyalty and touching confidence and religious awe; that the mother's yearning heart never struck the sad or hopeful keys; that the maiden never caught in tones her flattering joys and the pensive moods of her opening summer. Is it that the womanly nature is so gifted with the reality of spiritual harmony, towards which the deepest music continually presses, that she feels no necessity to seek relief or to grope for expressions in the world of sound? and is the power of the musical composer a token of his want and incompleteness? In other words, the quality of the feminine nature creates here, as elsewhere, a limitation arising from superiority, betrays it in the palpable want of musical expression, but finds in this very reserve a compensation. Woman's hopes and plans are ruled by the imagination, her disappointments flow from its obstinate ascendancy; still the ideal and spiritual life preserves its meek but self-sufficient vigor. But the great artist in every sphere must be a womanly nature under masculine conditions. The thought leads us very near to a perception of the reason why God created a

woman. Look a little farther, and penetrate from the reserve of the imagination to the holier reserve of purity and charity, where moral excellence and religious loyalty provide the imagination with its imperial food. She inherits potentially the redeeming power of the Truth and of the Life; and her prevailing bias must for ever control all her activities. In Jesus the utmost excellence of the spiritual disposition penetrated and subdued the manly mind; the strength and beauty of the one was perfected in conflict with the other. He contrasted the image of the earthly with the image of the heavenly, for he knew what was in man, and he brought to ambition, selfishness, and intellect the restraining grace of love and faith. In the providential fulness of his nature, man and woman became one, to display the just relations of their individual powers, to embody and reveal the Creator's original intention. If the womanly element predominated in him, it was because the human race is to be redeemed; and if, instead of the categories of philosophers, he proclaimed the beatitudes which belong to the essential woman, it was because the first man with his understanding is of the earth, earthy, and he needs the continual presence of the everlasting womanly spirit, that the new man may be formed within. Are these beatitudes slumbering in woman, as the fragrance slumbers in the fast-shut bud, or does she accept her regenerative mission, and sit at the feet of Jesus, where alone we must seek her and find her, if we wish to find her at all? This is woman's right and woman's mission, predestined in the nature of the uncreated God, out of whom came Adam first, and after, Jesus. Can we demonstrate better than by this analysis, that, if woman could direct her judgment and interest to the affairs of the masculine understanding, she would violate her sexual distinction, and disturb the radiations of her peculiar influence? We rejoice that we cannot concede to her the power to develop the statesman's intellect and manifold experience; we pay her the homage of denying that she can ever find it possible to obtain a personal estimate of the passions and motives of the masculine nature, without which narrowness and delusion would infect her public judgments. She cannot reverse God's decree, which matches her capacity with a feminine brain whose lack of masculine momentum ap-

pears in every line and color of her organization. This brain, so subtle and patient amid the necessities of life, so clear and persistent in all kinds of domestic slaveries and reverses, so adroit in applying the principles of education and of spirituality, lacks the coarseness and muscular perseverance, the obstinate concentration, the combative energy, which make a man the fit minister of trade, politics, and all the arts of superficial life. Is a woman ambitious to ply a blacksmith's hammer, when she can wield so cunningly the thin, flitting sword of the spirit; or why should she, whose nerves transmit the invisible currents of the central life, become enamored of the muscles' plodding and swarthy agencies? If one of the beatitudes is better than all the world's diplomacy, then the delicate influence of a true woman is better than her judgment, however sound, upon affairs of state, or her administration, however effective, of a public office. Will she enter the ranks and bear arms, or will she sit and send the pulses of her queenly persuasion through the loyal battalions, devoting them to one faith and one idea!

But the right to vote is claimed for woman, though the fatality of nature close all the avenues of public life against her. It is singular to notice how indifferent women seem to this great privilege of the republic; even those whose property is taxed listen with provoking tranquillity to the appeals which represent them as victims of tyranny and exclusion. Have ages of servitude blunted woman's sense of her natural and inalienable rights, or is the ballot-box less fascinating than we had supposed? A friend once visiting an unworldly philosopher, whose mind, humiliating to relate, was his kingdom, expressed his surprise at the smallness of his apartment: "Why, you have not room enough here to swing a cat!" "My friend," was the serene, unappreciative answer, "I do not want to swing a cat." Indeed, it is curious to notice the general insensibility of woman to these efforts which are made to multiply her duties and enlarge her sphere. She responds with grateful warmth to words which protect her labor and vindicate her right to fair emolument, and she does not seem unconscious of the mental deficiencies which a sustained and liberal culture will repair. But she obstinately re-

fuses to pick up her living in the streets. All the benevolent excursions which are planned to caucuses and the polls, for the benefit of her failing health, and those urgent invitations to come up and take a seat upon various platforms where joy and independence wait for her, are ungratefully declined. What marvellous pain-killers, infallible cosmetics, irresistible elixirs of rejuvenescence, have we overheard rejected at the front door! Either our New England women are ignorant of what the house requires, or else the peddler's wares lose their virtue when they leave the cart. Municipal and State elections do not offer to woman that enlargement of her consequence and comfort which is claimed for them; a vote does not seem to have the remotest connection with love, devotedness, or moral sway. The passion, truculent misrepresentation, and partisanship of a Presidential canvass do not infect her sweet retirement with its coarse ambition. Proscription and enactment rule, whatever party gains success, however immaculate its previous rhetoric may have been. Woman feels the impotence of votes and politicians in the cause of morals, and perceives no point of her sequestered life where they could touch it to enlarge or to alleviate. A cattle-show or a ship-launch enjoys as vital a connection with her fortunes. In short, neither hilarity nor righteousness seems to be promoted at the polls.

We cannot perceive that voting succeeds in modifying the inflexible tradition of political life, which is so resolved to perpetuate and to organize the system under which we live. Each man might as well mutter his predilections into the ballot-box as leave his vote there. Compared with the profound regeneration which the country needs, and which must spring, if at all, from the love and justice of its million homes, the trivial patching and mending that votes can achieve seem hardly worth the trouble. No woman would sacrifice a single tea-drinking for such advantages. But suppose the case to be altered, that woman could increase her own happiness and make some moral question more influential by her vote. We should rejoice if votes were really valuable in this country, for we know numerous women who would vote more sensibly and righteously than their husbands, if, on a point involving so much sensitiveness and pas-

sion, they could make up their minds to oppose them. But we think women in general would waive the right, if they possessed it, rather than introduce so grave an element of jealousy and discord into the estate of marriage. Doubtless all men on the eve of an election, or subsequent to a defeat, ought to preserve a magnanimous, tranquil, and conciliatory temper. Newspapers ought to assuage, instead of inflaming, the passions of their subscribers, and political meetings ought to leave the mind refreshed and clear, instead of inflamed, prejudiced, and corrupted by coarse imputations. But so long as voting perpetuates and countenances all these evils, men will be as little distinguished for Christian charity as their suffrages are for absolute equity. While the political temperament is thus depraved, a wife would sooner sacrifice a privilege than sow the seeds of domestic strife. The aggravation of all opposition increases with the warmth of relationship; and we are convinced that a woman might distract her husband's choicest projects sooner than nullify his votes. To the closeness of such a relationship add the feverish interest and personal pride of an election, when a freeman exercises his dearest right and worships the palladium in the ward-room, and you will find that the public passion is harmless and transitory compared with the bitterness in every home whose vote has been divided against itself. Let the election involve a moral issue, and the difficulty will be augmented. A theological quarrel in the house would acquire an aspect of amiability in companionship with that fatal contention of the hostile vote. Domestic love and peace are more valuable to a country, more closely implicated with its vital welfare, richer with the motives and elements of a spiritual transformation, than its best diplomacy or its most righteous votes. So long as our restless, passionate democracy at once expresses and invigorates the imperfect temper of its subjects, woman will not claim an empty privilege at the risk of the peace and confidence which are the sole condition of her private influence. Leave her to preserve the temperature which alone can slowly ripen the fruits of her spirit. Do not tempt her to increase the suspicions and perplexities of marriage: let the day be far distant when men shall be disposed to calculate the value of that union. We can-

not conceive it possible that politics should admit a moral element, in a pure or adulterated state, sufficiently often, or with sufficient sincerity, to compensate woman for putting in jeopardy the private advantage of her love over the disposition of her husband. Then let one place be kept remote from corruption and animosity, untempted by specious partisan morality, and unruffled either by triumph or defeat. There let the educated woman reign, deriving her authority from the inalienable right of her redeeming nature, and owing her success to the policy of a heavenly temper rather than to the contradictions of her votes. The country needs the pure and loyal home, whose atmosphere, like that of the Church itself, no suspicion of party temporalities shall poison. Let the home proclaim immutable morality to minds unrepelled by the assumption of worthless rights. We have no faith in votes. Domestic peace and trust, the attachment of marriages that are tried but never broken, the conscious sway and holy indignation of religious women, may at last bring the time when our fortunes shall be established upon unalterable justice, and the womanly nature shall elect righteousness to places of authority without descending to the polls.

We continue our consideration of the nature and duties of woman, with the design to show how they can be best reinforced by a more liberal culture, which secures also increase of freedom.

There is an excellent book, notwithstanding its partiality for an exclusive view of woman's condition, which has been widely read and admired. We have heard many a noble and care-worn woman respond to it with such warmth and tenderness, and indeed with such an overflow of thankfulness, that we are quite convinced the womanly element will not, during this generation at least, be reformed out of nature or society. Its title is "The Angel over the Right Shoulder," and its object is to show to woman that the petty routine which enslaves her brings out noble traits of character, and furnishes moral and spiritual compensation. The wife is represented as a person loving mental discipline and culture, but now debarred from all her old delights by the developing cares of her married state. The husband expresses a willingness to reinstate her, as far as possible,

in her old freedom; to which end her day is regularly laid out, by mutual agreement, and a certain portion of it is to be kept tabooed for intellectual improvement. The husband is the first person to invade the sacred precincts; the alternative being presented to him of going down to his business wanting several buttons of incalculable value, or of calling her from her polite retirement to accomplish her destiny. And thus the matter goes on from day to day; husband, children, domestics, and callers dissipate the sacred leisure into numerous fragments, upon errands of very unequal necessity. The Creator might withdraw himself from his intricate connection with the universe, as safely as she can keep aloof from the varied concerns of her household. If ever knowledge is pursued under difficulties, it is by the responsible house-partner of a modern family. Taught by the embarrassments of every minute, she gives up the idea of creating this little oasis of freedom and graceful culture in the midst of her howling wilderness; but the book concludes with a sudden opening of her inner sense, which grants her the faith that the trifles from which she would fain escape are the schoolmasters which bring her to Christ. They labor, with steady, wearing stroke, to unseal at last the fountain of her womanly nature, and to give her a personal knowledge of faith, hope, and charity, instead of philosophy, history, and the piano-forte.

In the picture presented by this popular book, it seems to us that a truth and an error are mingled; and the woman who reads it is so captivated on the side of her tenderness and loyalty, that she is not likely to separate them. Let us offer a few suggestions which also lie in the direct line of our subject.

The truth of such a picture is as important as it is pathetic. What mercy and skill has the Heavenly Father employed in mingling the grave hours of a woman's life! What foresight which ordained that these superficial cares of our modern housekeeping, so distant both in time and in idea from the first morning of creation, should subserve woman's personal salvation, and call into lively play the Christian elements with which her Maker's breath first distinguished her! Blessed necessity of care, — holy fate of maternity, — heavenly trials of the home economy! We have seen the face of a married woman

bearing still the smoothness of her undeveloped girlhood, as of one who thought to carry her soft dulcimer for ever, with bounding step, through life and society, forgetful of culture, regardless of high ideas, till the first days came, when, rising from her weakness, the new voice in her dwelling saluted her yearning heart, the feeble wail of the new immortality intrusted to her keeping. Then what a delicate transfiguration of thought and feeling has befallen that girlish face, hanging like a sober twilight in the eyes, settling like a constant word of meditation over lips and forehead. Now she seldom tosses her dulcimer to the light measures of society; but let the days be ever so cruel to her with cares and watching, the faith of the first moment of her soul's awakening never fades from her brow's summit, — no, it creeps over every feature, deepening with the time's necessity, strengthened with new principles of love and duty at every fresh enforcement. Truly her soul was born with her child into the world. She never thought before with anxiety and awe of the mysterious attribute of prayer; but now never a moment of joy or sorrow sweeps her landscape which does not carry off with it the voluntary whispers of her womanly reliance upon God. This God she never knew, she never found, before; her children, made in the Divine image, reveal him to her, so closely do the little fortunes of their life and health run with the eternity out of which they came to her. Fever and accident, undutifulness and moral blame, night-watches and daily fears, lay the foundations of a character not surpassed by any other type of man or woman upon earth, — the motherly character. The expansive statesman, the emerging hero, the subtle thinker, must submit to the judgment which pronounces their tone and quality inferior to that of the true mother, whose native wit has been deepened into judgment, whose fluttering energies have been concentrated into untiring service, whose reveries the preaching of life has converted into prayers, and whose girlish innocence has been chiselled by innumerable strokes and worn by countless tears into the eternal shapes which Christianity would own. And let us ask if the statesman and the hero spring in full panoply from the bosom of the earth. There is another bosom which lent the first nourishment, and another voice

than that of nature's which whispered the first truth and liberty to the public actions that, by saving or adorning us, command our admiration. To the mother's nature be the praise and the glory. The finer quality of her spirit, made vital and regenerative by the sharp air of her trials, penetrates everywhere the masculine element, and makes it capable of furnishing leaders and advisers. The woman may often rebel at the grinding tyranny of her household, and not be able to command faith enough at the moment to repress the piteous exclamation, "I am a slave." *She is a queen*, — she commands, if she chooses, the next generation; she can prepare the minds of its men to obey or to originate that which is true and good. Even so Jesus took upon himself the form of a servant, and gave his life a ransom for many. While the woman thinks only to make herself, like her Lord, perfect through suffering, she spreads a Gospel through the hearts of her family; and who can set bounds to a Gospel's propagation? While the daily crosses remind her of the Master's crucifixion, and her soul obeys its affinity for the womanly element in the Man of Sorrows, she repeats the Christian era; and let her life be ever so barren of leisure and amenity, as His was who had not where to lay his head, the holy function of redemption descends upon her, and she keeps the knowledge of the beatitudes fresh in the midst of the adulterous generations. Such great results has God affixed to trifles. Could man devise a better way for developing the qualities of the womanly nature, that the tenderness and devout principle of early Christianity may be the inheritance of every age, than by placing woman in the midst of a routine which compels her to renounce, to ponder, and to pray, which identifies her own love and gratification with the fidelity of a wife and mother, and excites within her such a sense of responsibility that she finds it necessary to make the loftiest principles her daily food? Could you invent a better scheme for making the sullen earth put forth the glory of heaven, — a better way for making faithful service and personal salvation identical in the case of woman? Not till you first alter the womanly nature, and expunge from the Gospel the peculiar spirit which makes it redemptive. Had God given a different constitution to the generations of this planet,

woman might have won her nobility in a different sphere. But the word was spoken in the beginning, which makes the mother the highest style of humanity; and the true woman will forget her sorrows when she sees that God's word is continually re-created, and that men can be saved by her.

The writer of the little book above mentioned would probably accept this as a development of her views; but nevertheless they require a modification to make them perfectly just to all the requirements of woman's condition. In showing how difficult it is for a housekeeper to continue her culture, and how the trifles which embarrass her have unexpected spiritual results, she drops out of sight the absolute necessity for a better mental discipline for woman, and she fails to answer the question how the service of Martha may be combined with the opportunities of Mary. But, it will be said, if the mother in the midst of her household cares really occupies the place that develops to best advantage her womanly nature, why is it necessary to raise this question, or why does she require ampler mental discipline? Convince her that her soul thrives best in the midst of her present restrictions, and she will cease to lament her former freedom and to complain that the daily burdens enslave her mind. To which we reply, that woman needs more discipline and a wider culture, to enlarge her own personal freedom, to improve her education of her children, and to increase the moral influence of her womanly qualities over man. It is to confirm and direct the Christian elements of the mother, that a more systematic mental culture should be sought. How, in the present social system, shall it be obtained? Let us here attempt to criticize the manner in which the young woman is turned loose upon society. In the greater number of cases she is supposed to have completed her education at the age of eighteen; and thenceforward she appears in the ranks of society as an object for the attentions and honors of womanhood, a confederate of all the fashions and amusements which are current in her sphere. She has long sighed for these days and evenings of freedom, has chafed impatiently on the bench of the academy beneath the drill which girls may need, but not women. She has wondered how long her parents intend to keep

her, full-grown, with all the impulses of society and sentiment fast blossoming, beneath the unsympathizing gravity of the teacher. At last, youthful impetuosity and maternal fondness combine to launch her on the dear delights of social life. At eighteen she emerges, with her little budget of arithmetic, geometry, composition, and Wayland's Moral Science; perchance a few straggling vines of music and drawing appear escaping from it. Thus sumptuously furnished, she commences the career of womanhood. A half-developed, half-disciplined girl, with at least half a dozen years of natural minority yet unexpired, offers herself as a candidate for the universal destiny, and almost immediately finds herself bewailing the loss of the freedom for which she had sighed so ardently at school. Is it really necessary that every thing in this country should proceed at headlong speed? Are women as well as men yoked to this national destiny which regards not youth and immaturity, but uses them both up pitilessly to push ahead the general fortune? Why should women too become infected with this fever, and imagine that they are educated and finished for society, because they equal the stature of their mothers? In this matter we have fallen victims to an ocular deception. We have noticed that a girl at eighteen seems much more mature than a boy at the same age, and therefore we have anticipated, in deference to her, the period of her conventional maturity. The illusion arises from the fact that the girl develops sooner than the boy a certain exquisite tact and social diplomacy, which give her really a very fair appearance of finish and knowledge. She is self-possessed, adroit, flexible, winning, at an age when the boy is still very untutored, awkward, and unfledged. And wherever society demands of a young woman nothing but a capacity for social adaptation, good taste, and graceful sentiment, her freedom will be mistaken for maturity, and she will be worshipped as a woman when she ought to be drilled and kept under as a scholar. Undoubtedly her emotions and her tact develop early; so much the worse, then, for her, that she escapes from discipline so soon. It is a mistake that not only makes her a stranger to the broad mental culture of which she is capable, but impairs the usefulness of her domestic life, by leaving her to under-

take the most delicate responsibilities with a girl's raw mind. Let the womanly element be ever so capable and subtle, and life ever so well adapted for bringing it out, surely you will not say that a person with the form of a woman, but the mind of a girl, will discharge her obligations so nobly or so tranquilly as a person whose outward maturity is fairly balanced by internal growth. Is the discipline of sustained study every thing for a man, and nothing for a woman? Does the influence of all human knowledge penetrate every fibre of a man's constitution, and slowly bring him up to the level of all his duties, and can it avail nothing for the susceptible woman, to direct her judgment, to confirm her principles, to enlighten her religion, — but must she be left undrilled, to struggle with her cares at random, to pick up the chance thoughts of society, and to fall back in lassitude upon her instincts and emotions? She has shown herself, amid all her disadvantages, capable of better things, with a judgment full as worthy of cultivation as man's, an imagination that craves food equally delicate and noble, a sense for truth and goodness equally worthy of having knowledge for their basis. Knowing little wisdom herself, she has already reared the wise and the good; but you will not deny that, by raising the average of female culture and prolonging the years of her drill, you will improve the chances of the future, and make the public virtues more frequent and impressive. That it will enlarge her own personal freedom seems to us a sufficient argument; but how can you do that without affecting all the channels of our life? for woman stands at the head of them, mingling the quality of her own nature with every drop that fills them. Why, then, should a young woman have the poor ambition to escape from discipline and knowledge, seduced by the unfettered aspect of society? Her chains are forging to the measure of her first dances among men and women; the hours which are left to be filled with nothing but sentiment, because she has excluded from them the temperate restraint of knowledge, will betray her to the rapid steps which soon run out her new freedom and bring on the dulness of her fate. After eighteen, nothing but a toying with study, forgetting longer to woo knowledge for the new sensation of being wooed herself, submitting to the impatient advances of this restless peo-

ple, and soon fixed for ever, with all her crudeness and imperfections on her, left to strip the myrtle from the gay thyrsus which he and she bore together, to find it a sullen and wounding spear! If we suppose that this is necessary, — that this is the rational and inevitable process of commencing life, — it is a great delusion. The custom of the country can lend neither sense nor dignity to it. In the midst of this premature restlessness and early success of the masculine understanding, there should be established an inviolate system of education for woman, that shall make it generous and manifold, and shall prolong it much beyond her first score of years. And parents should discountenance the American ambition for coming out, and the American fate of premature martyrdom to domestic service. The young woman should be held aloof, "in maiden meditation," beneath sustained and salutary discipline, notwithstanding the maturity of her tact and her adaptation for society. The necessary education of the house might be mingled with this, and never interfere. Faithful adherence to drill, and the systematic opposition to all society, as in the old countries of Europe, to premature developments of the one great emotion, would secure for woman and all her sentiments the power of knowledge, the clearness of reason, the hardiness of mental freedom. Let material from all the spheres of thought be placed at her control, mingled with riches from whatsoever province of art she may desire; let the State or the city establish the institutions which shall dispense these things, so that the present expense of female education shall be annihilated for all classes; let the courses be definite and cover an ample period of years; and then at last, when woman has acquired the freedom of her mental powers, with direction of her judgment and solid capital for many gloomy days, let her accept the burden of her life. Enlightened, self-conscious, well balanced, her girlish caprices quenched in the solemn deep of the world's wisdom, her social ambitions chastened by delightful intercourse with the past dignity of man, let her advance to the discharge of modern duties. With mental independence, with discernment for her children, with real influence for her husband, let her wield the enlarged authority which the future has in store for her, which belongs of right to

her present sphere, and which the addition of no other right or mission could aggrandize.

But why not? says some one. With such an education, what shall prevent her from competing in every province with the masculine understanding? Our previous analysis of the womanly disposition meets this inquiry. Education will reinforce and apply her peculiar quality, but cannot abrogate it. Her own brain is the appointed minister of her original bias and temperament. Her superiority accomplishes her restraint. Her tone, her coloring, every thing that makes her not a man, every thing in her that corroborates the disposition that God has made of her from the beginning, will keep her for ever sequestered from the prevailing masculine employments. We speak from the standard of the average woman, who represents the majority of her sex, and who is chiefly interested in a sensible solution of this question. Eager and selfish man pursues an aim; woman finds an aim in converting necessity into freedom. We can find a few exceptional women, with great concentrativeness, who pursue an aim; but that does not invalidate the general sexual distinction. Catherine de Medicis is not the type of the womanly nature, nor was her impotent son a type of the masculine nature. Joan of Arc donned armor and pursued an aim with notable tenacity, while the whole generation of her countrywomen were meeting the necessities of their spheres with noble passiveness. The average woman does not possess sufficient acquisitiveness to pursue an aim; it takes the muscular and selfish man to cling with life-long fervor to a plan or occupation. And besides this radical distinction, we have already suggested that the pursuit of many masculine employments, politics for instance, is made with a complication of motives impossible to the womanly nature. Those who desire to mingle in such business are either ignorant of its contingencies or lamentably well adapted for them. Those who think to reform the spirit of such business by personally descending to the strife, and submitting to the fluctuations of the game, have somewhat over-estimated the public docility and their own capacity to make equity seem practicable to parties on the eve of a division. When education shall have enlarged her views and given weight to her judgment,

then let her address husband and kindred with her enlightened moral sense, and commence the purification of the public polity at its million centres of human hearts, each one susceptible to her fine influence, and bound to her by ties that shall outlast the motives of party and the temptations of power. There is woman's place, — at the deep, invisible centre of all things, bending with tranquil countenance over the heart's mysterious fountains, imprinting the image of chaste desires on the yet unpolluted waters. Let her do it consciously and boldly, fortified by culture and inspired by the presence of her Lord's beatitudes.

We think that the precise directions which woman's education and judgment will take, whenever circumstances permit them to overflow the private limits, have been already marked out by the best specimens that occur to us of her genius and capacity. Her best works describe her sphere. Persons like Queen Christine, Catherine, Elizabeth, with a strong masculine cross in them, have succeeded admirably in politics and diplomacy, finding a potent auxiliar in feminine tact and stratagem, the only faculty that they possessed in common with their sex. But we speak now of women. To note the triumphs which are due to her capacity when stimulated by generous culture, let us record with admiration the names of Mary Somerville and Fanny Corbax, the physical geographers, Miss Herschel, and our own astronomer, whose observation rounds her island home with the vast fields of God, — the cherished names of Miss Edgeworth, Mary Howitt, Mrs. Stowe, Mrs. Whitman, Mrs. Judson. And there are many others of genuine renown in England, France, and Germany. The greatest of all Greek Professors was Olympia Morata, in the fifteenth century, to whom the chair devoted to her peculiar study was enthusiastically rendered in many universities. Science is no longer forbidden ground to the few women favored with opportunity and the exceptional ability to cultivate it; fiction and many of the fine humanities have long yielded her substantial triumphs. Above all, she has been providentially destined to make her knowledge and beauty avail for the young, a task so delicate that the best understandings of men shrink from attempting it. Let them retreat from it altogether; it is

the educated woman's peculiar function. And wherever woman is clearly seen to combine knowledge, the capacity for imparting it, and power of discipline, let her be joyfully welcomed, nay, summoned to educational posts. It is also, we doubt not, an occasion of edification, when Lucretia Mott utters her convictions in the placid gathering of Friends, the tradition and habit of which place finely harmonize with woman's power of pure and tender exhortation. But mere exhortation, though its monotonous repetition may prove a salutary interruption to the silent meeting, would be a slender stock to mount with into the modern pulpit, where science and faith should make their mighty league to win the souls of men. The preaching that develops the harmonies of the universe, and puts its utmost verge under contribution for traces of the laws of God, — that devotes the manifold knowledge thus acquired to judge the sceptic on his own domain, and to force the conquered understanding into an alliance with religious faith, — that affects the soul by its great cumulative argument of facts and sentiments, by its perception of men's motives and habits, its sympathy with their domestic fortunes, its acquaintance with their political, professional, masculine temptations, its criticisms of their practical morality, its revelations of their latent spiritual powers, — must be something more than a few Scripture texts nicely imbedded in a customary flow of sentiment. Preaching must address the whole man, block his path with the whole creation, and interrupt him with such a necessity for worship as neither his intellect nor his passion can evade. It must take the trouble to understand, even to feel and appreciate, in order to refute, his practical subterfuges and delinquencies. The modern church is sometimes a sanctuary, that conceals holy sorrow and devotion, and permits womanly emotions to venture forth in quest of the Divine sympathy; it is sometimes an arena, where the fight of Paul at Ephesus must be waged with the sword of truth and of the spirit; it is sometimes the Christian school, where the thoughts of God are explained, the structure of the human motives analyzed, and the great argument of creative logic developed against human fallacies. Against the weight and muscle of modern times, woman's placid exhortations would ripple like the wind; her indignation,

unsteadied by equal weight and muscle, would come down like the child's fist upon the granite. And grant to her the needful powers sufficiently developed and enriched, yet her ignorance of men, and her providential remoteness from their egotism and coarseness, will for ever disqualify her for some of the pulpit's most essential ministrations. Will not a seven days' influence, in the atmosphere that vibrates so promptly to her gentleness, atone to her for this tyrannical assumption of one day, and this expulsion from the paradises of the pulpit and the polls? And mark how quickly her delicate fragrance vanishes when transplanted to the rude platforms of debate, where the tumultuous listeners infect even her voice with their coarseness, and bring out upon her features the unwelcome looks of antagonism and intolerance. In such a climate, sooner or later, a fair saint would surely spindle into a termagant.* And by what advantages brought to the causes of truth does she indicate her new position? Has she left her retirement under the conviction that the masculine nature shows feebleness in attack or in defence, is cursed with poverty of expression or of insight, and must be reinforced by clearer views and more trenchant statements? Alas! when we await this feast of fresh beauty, subtlety, transparency, we are served with a re-hash of the sentiments and arguments with which the stalwart, manly Apostles had already thrilled us, in the hours when the wisdom sprang full-armed from their foreheads to stand before us in the glow of unmimicked feeling. She borrows the very skeletons of her speeches from this school of eloquence; we faintly recognize the old masters, nearly rubbed to death in this process of feminine restoration. Here and there a bit of noble coloring awakes painful recollections, and we long to see the canvas of the moment warmed to life and beauty by the genuine pencil. She has escaped from the occupations predestined for her taste and power, to do this drudgery of repetition and feeble imitation. How different her pretensions and success in the concert-room or on the stage, when she exercises a right because she can confer an inestimable favor! But the shafts which

* Unless we are misinformed, sundry recent tilts at Cleveland and elsewhere corroborate the above remark.

she fits to the bow of Ulysses fall miserably short, and we retire unpierced. What right is involved in this privilege to handle the weapons of moral debate, except the dubious one of serving as a foil to the sinewy skill of their owners, and convincing us for ever that man is the preacher and organizer, the critic and the radical? Let dilettanteism abstain from toying with immutable truths or the facts of human suffering. For those who are afflicted with amateur propensities, the balloon and the diving-bell afford striking opportunities for varying monotonous employments and mingling in other spheres; but neither man nor woman can vindicate a right to handle themes of sacred import, who merely administers faint dilutions of the existing knowledge or enthusiasm that is devoted to them. Why should woman surrender her peculiar power, to convince mankind of her peculiar feebleness? We turn unrefreshed from such an experiment, to seek the serene home which Mary Ware blesses with counsel, grace, and sustained fortitude, making the care-worn days the platforms whence she holds her high debates; we glow with courage, we melt with tenderness, we suffer with patience, at the dictate of this absolute woman, who builds an empire out of her restraints. How many public discussions would be equivalent to the dignified and powerful argument of such a life, which thrilled to the magnetism of so small an audience? We follow with grateful reverence the steps of Miss Dix, and all sisters of charity, as they walk in womanly remembrance of their Master's words: "I was naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me." Here is an arena open to these discontented persons who desire to ventilate their public energies. What business, what debates, what administrative provinces, could yield to them the satisfaction and the glory of the heavenly fruits reaped in such fields, where the laborers are few? Would it not be better for women who have time enough to utter their public protests against misery and crime, to spend that nature and temper, so exquisitely made for charity, in silent alleviation of some of the evils that implore their intervention? Man's noblest laurels shake and wilt at the thought of the immortality which God has thus proffered to woman through the very constitution of her soul. Pure and sin-

cere sympathy, tact that is never baffled, patience that is never exhausted, the charity that believeth and endureth all things, has made woman the predestined almoner of modern times. But those of the sex who protest the loudest, and chafe the most restlessly, in want of margin for their energies, are those in whom the patient, womanly type of Jesus has been the most impaired; there the zeal which impels has lost the wisdom which should serve.

Let us proceed to consider briefly another method, in addition to education, for increasing woman's dignity and happiness amid the constraints of domestic life; that, namely, of returning to greater simplicity of living. So long as the country is suffused, throughout its length and breadth, with the first fervor of success, and families and cities acquire wealth faster than they acquire knowledge and culture, it may seem hopeless to speak of a return to a more simple, domestic style. Every city seems like a parvenu slightly muddled with his sudden patrimony, making desperate attempts to assume sobriety and taste. This access of superfluous means gets relief in ostentations and frivolous details; and the effect upon those who are yet struggling for their competency is to increase the number of their wants, to raise their standard for themselves and children above their income, and to keep them in constant anxiety between their desire and their inability for show. Under this artificial pressure of society, the women suffer most; the accumulation of details weighs heaviest upon them. The very difference between a simple dress and one a little more ornate, which maternal ambition devises for her children, tasks her wits and fingers, and she is victimized by the extra trifles with which she meditates display. In this respect the women are blameworthy as well as suffering; they are infected a little with the vulgar temper of their country. We have seen an amiable, but rather aspiring woman, perfectly miserable because she could not equal the hospitalities and share the extra chances of more wealthy families. In one breath she would inveigh against the tyranny of domestic life, which was using up her time and temper with its pettiness; the next breath would be a sigh at the coyness of bewitching competency and at the limitations of her life. Woman, at least, should preserve tranquillity and modesty in the midst of this desolating,

brutifying American competition. Her unflushed face should teach the husband each day how to wait, as well as how to labor. Her modest desires, united with supreme contempt for society's opinion, should be a rebuke to his vulgar eagerness to be as wealthy as his neighbor, wasting, as he does, for that poor aim, his opportunities for personal culture, desecrating the sacredness of his home, and converting it into a show-box, with his wife for a puppet, and trifles for the game. If woman would enjoy more freedom, let her invite society back to greater simplicity.

But let the mind of woman be ever so much enlarged by knowledge, and her toil lightened by simpler ambitions, she cannot repeal the domestic laws which place many heavy burdens upon her and exhaust the freshness of every day. Like the farmer, the lawyer, the mechanic, she must tread in a routine, she must accept the provisions of toil which belong to her first estate. It is no novel innovation which thus oppresses her. Knowledge and virtue can neither renew her youth, nor keep the heavy cares from her dwelling. What is marriage itself, which floats in vague colors through the realm conjured by youthful fancy out of the future? Believe it, young woman, the estate of marriage contains the harshest elements of earthly discipline. You will find the texts of Scripture which speak of the cross of Jesus appropriate, when the triumphant emotions which have marshalled you, like festal music, into this land of dreams, shall have become cowed down by dull monotony. You will recall the promises of the lowly Jesus; till then your prayers never contained the pathos of his tender regards for women, — "Come unto me, all ye who are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Marriage is the school of maturity, in which disappointment, anxiety, death, maintain the drill. The seasons of joy only introduce more impressively the contrasts of sorrow. Expect not to enjoy the consummation of your untutored hopes; each promotion that the human heart attains, only reveals to it the same fatality of earth. The future looks to us like a lover: we find it a schoolmaster. The fancy cannot transmute the earths to precious metals. This soil which we tread is the substance of our food and drink, the building-material of our resting-places, the

warp and woof of every dream. This earth for ever embraces us with its inexorable climate; we receive the color of the thing on which we feed. Let woman tranquilly accept the lot which perfects her character, anticipating education rather than felicity; that word will be in current use only when the conditions of earth cease to environ us, and the well-disciplined soul enters the peaceful state where experience results in bliss.

Not to be tempted any farther by this prolific subject, let us accept a Christian application of it. "But one thing is needful";—that thing was the object of Mary's ambition, who received the commendation of her Lord, not because she flattered him by listening, nor because she thought the service of the house less important than his high discourse, but because her womanly nature yearned towards its perfected counterpart in him. Will woman consent to be led back again to the feet of Jesus, that this meagre and desolate age may be redeemed by the faith and heroism which were the chief consolations of his life, and the first triumphs of his ministry? Will women be again the first disciples of a Master who speaks to her nature as intimately, with as great assurance of recognition, as when in the garden he said to his sorrowing and bewildered friend,—*"Mary!"* Will woman accept the genuine mission which nature and revelation proffer to her, without which her own peculiar spirit would be objectless? Let her not imagine that her latent Christian powers share the felicity of instinct, to bless us unconsciously, to redeem us unawares, to charm us like her involuntary smiles. They wait within her, to be made perfect through suffering, slowly to assume the redemption from amid prayers and the unutterable longings of her spirit. They wait to be fixed and tempered by the trials appropriate to her sphere, to be converted into personal energy by her enlightened will. Before woman can bless us, she must bless herself with the faith of Mary, penetrated, for her own sake and for ours, with the conviction, that but one thing is needful. Let her give up the vanities which infest her varied lot, vanities of leisure, vanities of labor, wretched deferences to man's coarse spirit, unwomanly compliance with the husband's and the brother's egotism. She must open the long disused page of the beatitudes among us, for

manly energy riots among its husks, having dismissed the reproofing meekness and poverty of spirit. Let woman offer them an asylum; let her rise and take the beautiful shape of a redeemer, and make the talk by the way-side, and the feasts and cares of home occasions, to spread again the Gospel peace abroad.

J. W.

ART. II. — REFLECTIONS.

To terrify without punishing often does more than punishment could do to prevent offences. For there is always danger that punishment may excite more anger than fear.

Good deeds are most praised when they occasion most surprise. The liberal act of a miser is in every one's mouth, while that of a benevolent man may be hardly noticed. So that silence is often commendation.

A man cannot be a knave without being a fool.

Cowardice consists, not in having fear, but in yielding to it. In well-ordered minds, fear is the sentinel that wakes up courage.

Agitation of mind is more exhausting than application.

A blunder often makes a precedent.

A weak mind is ambitious of envy; a strong one, of respect.

Slight differences often indicate great ones: *aqua fontis* is spring water; *aqua fortis* is nitric acid.

Common opinions often conflict with common sense; for reason in most minds is no match for prejudice, a hydra whose heads grow faster than they can be cut off.

Most of our opportunities are lost in gaining the experience which enables us to use the rest.

The poor man and the rich one travel the same road, the former with a little bag scantily furnished, the latter with a load of trunks heavy to carry and hard to keep.

When fame is infamously won
By higher natures, like Rousseau
And Byron, pandering to the low,
The sullied wreath is worse than none.

A man seldom has much leisure, if he is much inclined to use it.

How many men we meet who "might be" something, and how few who are!

The reward of ostentatious giving is importunate begging.

Popularity is gained by flattering prejudices, but respect by withstanding them.

Our prospects take their hue from our retrospects.

Those who have the fewest ungratified wants often have the most ungratified wishes.

A life of ambition is a race without rest.

The French say, "A wise man thinks before he speaks, but a fool after he has spoken."

They also say, "He who has a good son-in-law has gained a son; he who has a bad one has lost a daughter."

We ridicule others for their fears and failures, and then fear and fail like them in like situations; for many a path which looks smooth at a distance is found to be rough when we have to travel it.

Voltaire says that the secret of being tedious is to leave nothing unsaid.

Confusing what's clear and distorting what's true,
(Like mirrors that represent objects askew,) Enables a writer to make people stare
At commonplace notions as if they were rare,
And dazzle sometimes, though he's generally dull;
But his light only shines through a crack in his skull.

Change of time, like change of place, introduces men to new associates, and gives many persons an opportunity to become respected by outliving those who knew them when they were not respectable.

We know too little of most men's difficulties to know much of their deserts.

The condition of the world would be improved, if men were to think less of the dishonor of submitting to wrong, and more of the dishonor of doing it.

Outward troubles often act like blisters to alleviate inward pains and maladies.

Every path that leads to good is intersected by a thousand that lead to ill.

How oft a sudden flood of fame
Departs as quickly as it came !
But, fed by many gentle rills,
Enduring fame its channel fills,
And widens to a quiet river,
Which flows unchanging and for ever.

How liable must written language be to misconstruction, when spoken language is so often misunderstood !

What proportion of men's "reasons" for acting were in their minds before they acted ?

The infamy of ill-got gains
Long after they are lost remains.

Is not a melancholy man apt to err by considering vice and misery too much in the mass ? The mass is frightful, but it is very widely distributed.

Most men must do what seems to them much, in order to accomplish what will seem to others little.

The man who renders up his breath,
In dying bids adieu to death.

The young often think fiction fact ; the old often think fact fiction.

Who has not suffered "the greatest outrage ever committed" ?

The most valuable knowledge comes from common experience, and lodges not in the memory, but in the understanding.

They pay too dear for fame or wealth,
Who pay in peace of mind or health.

In many cases, words are clear only to him who uses them. Is it strange, then, that a man's own speeches or writings should appear to him more expressive than those of others ?

To complain is to confess weakness ; and so men conceal their suffering and weariness. This makes society more agreeable, but also makes life seem to the young easier than it is.

How many a man, from love of pelf,
To stuff his coffers starves himself ;
Labors, accumulates, and spares,
To lay up ruin for his heirs ;
Grudges the poor their scanty dole,
Saves every thing except his soul,
And always anxious, always vexed,
Loses both this world and the next !

Constant vigilance is required to prevent evil, but such vigilance is not consistent with a high degree of happiness.

Follies and blunders usually spring from constitutional defects requiring a lifetime to remedy.

If a man has popular talents, his mind is usually kept on tap and drained to the dregs.

Many distinguished men are despised for the arts which procure them distinction.

Much of "the evil of our lot" is the punishment of our misconduct.

Happiness depends not so much on means and opportunities, as on the capacity of using them. And this depends so much on experience and self-control, that the probability of happiness in old age is as great, to say the least, as it is in youth.

If, when the body turns to clay
And mingles with the sod,
The soul, as Eastern sages say,
Is swallowed up in God,
Then man 's a bubble on a river,
That breaks and disappears for ever,
And, mixing with the current, flows
Back to the ocean whence it rose ;

But, thanks to God, a nobler strain,
Above the din of doctrines vain,
Proclaims that man is like the grain,
Buried to rise and bloom again.

The relations of life are very various, and call different faculties into action, so that men are alternately leaders and led.

No one can escape depression who does not control elation.

Every good habit corrects a bad tendency.

Trips help to save from tumbles.

When a discourse is pitched too high, there is no opportunity of rising, and constant danger of sinking. As some instruments are tuned with a tuning-fork, some discourses seem to have been pitched with a pitch-fork.

The chief difficulty of imparting instruction often consists in awakening the wish to receive it.

In spite of all that we can do
To separate good from ill,
They will confederate and pursue
Their way together still.

While good is smiling more and more
To lull our doubts and fears,
She privily unbars the door,
And frowning ill appears.

But ill, although he seems so stern,
Will soon relax his mood,
And after he has had his turn,
Gives way again to good.

We have heard an eloquent preacher remark, that "they need help most who deserve it least."

Many a long period of political contention becomes an invisible point in history.

Heavenly mansions built after earthly patterns are but castles in the air.

The indulgent parent fosters his children's foes. In the discipline of Providence, suffering follows sin by a

law of nature, and is relieved only by repentance and reformation. It is the punishment of sin, and not the forgiveness of it, that saves the sinner.

As sailors hear a tolling bell,
When tossing on the sea,
We hear a voice, above the swell
Of restless life resounding, tell
Of immortality.

The clouds above us cannot long conceal the heaven beyond them.

No man can solve the mysteries of life, but every man of common sense can perform its duties.

Sarcasm poisons reproof. It is like the noxious juice of the cassava. The plant is unfit for food until the juice has been extracted.

Men are seldom worn out by necessary labor. If the merchant exhausts himself by toiling for superfluous wealth, and the politician by toiling for personal aggrandizement, who is to be blamed?

When a man is successful, people are apt to forget his difficulties, and to talk about his favorable circumstances; but circumstances are always favorable to those who can make them so.

To accomplish much in the way that he has chosen, a man must be willing to be reproached with accomplishing little in other ways. During his life, people may complain of his omissions; but after he is dead, they will praise what he has done.

Men begin life hoping to do better than their predecessors, and end it rejoicing if they have done as well.

Reason asks, Can prayer influence God, who alone knows what is right, and never deviates from it? But is it certain that God sees only one right way of acting?

We cannot get rid of troubles, but may do much to prevent them from accumulating.

How many lines there are which their writers, when dying, will "wish to blot"; "idle words" of which they "shall give account in the day of judgment"!

Diversity of language springs from difficulty of intercourse, and languages become blended as intercourse becomes easy.

To compare living men with dead ones, is like comparing fresh fruit with dry.

Men slowly learn how little they can do, and how careful they must be of their faculties and opportunities in order to do that little.

The world may be making progress, but the progress which principally concerns each one is that which fits him to exchange this world for a better one.

Retribution is a law of nature, and the one most important for us to study.

There are many good things in this world, but it is often difficult to get them, and easy to lose them and dangerous to use them.

If men's prejudices are not directly attacked, they will often admit truths that are inconsistent with them, and these will gradually root out the prejudices.

It is not strange that we should suffer, but that we should be so constituted as to need suffering.

Men can impart their knowledge, but not their experience.

Men look for happiness in rest, but seek it in restlessness.

Excepting virtue and vice, the points of difference between men are trifling compared with the points of resemblance.

A man sometimes retains his youth by doing little to make his manhood noticed.

A poem written in close and regular rhymes is more suitable for recitation than one written in blank verse; for blank verse, when recited, can hardly be distinguished from prose, except by hearers familiar with the lines.

The world has not room enough for all the great men in it, so that they stand very much in each other's way.

How many a man in frantic play
Has thrown his pearl of price away,
Like Egypt's wanton queen, who quaffed
A monarch's ransom at a draught,
Dissolved her jewel and her soul
And fair renown in pleasure's bowl,
Transmuted folly into fame,
And gave to Cleopatra's name
An immortality of shame !

The possibility of evil disturbs the anxious, but only the probability of evil disturbs the cheerful. A large part of the liabilities which hover before the eyes of the former are never thought of by the latter.

Wrongs often petrify into rights.

The effect of familiarity on the judgment is illustrated by the fact, that absurd phrases often gain currency by being held up to ridicule. "Solitary and alone" was laughed at so long, that men became accustomed to it, and it is now sometimes soberly used in newspapers. From this effect of familiarity, it seems to us ill-judged to teach children spelling by examples of words misspelt, or grammatical correctness by examples of bad grammar. If the eye and the ear are accustomed to such improprieties, the judgment may be sometimes perplexed by the images that remain in the memory.

Ordinary morality suffices only for ordinary occasions.

Ideas lie in the mind in all stages of growth. When they are matured, it is difficult for us to realize their early incompleteness.

As sailors see the summer sun
Go down the Arctic skies,
And, when his shining course is run,
Again begin to rise,
The soul shall never set in night,
But kindle its expiring light,
And go rejoicing on its way
From dim decline to glorious day.

Flattery makes poets popular, as well as politicians. The "flowers that blush unseen" like to be reminded of their beauty.

Success often costs more than it is worth.

Thoughts are most impressive when conveyed in distinct propositions. Many passages may be made more forcible by leaving out connecting particles.

Many processes go on in our bodies without our consciousness, and produce results without our volition. Is the same true of our minds?

The remarks which impress men most are those which fall in with their own experience. A lawyer sometimes finds that the arguments which appear to him of least weight have most weight with a jury. And perhaps the sermons which have cost a clergyman the least effort may sometimes have the most effect on his hearers. Uneducated men dislike complicated reasoning and nice distinctions.

The shortness of life makes the fear of future retribution lively, and thus strengthens virtuous resolutions.

It is not strange that the old have become tired of trying new things, for they have found most of them to be vanity and vexation of spirit.

The circumstances on which our comfort depends are so many that we cannot enumerate them, and so minute that we are ashamed to own them.

After "the sting of folly" has made men wise, they find it hard to conceive that others can be as foolish as they have been.

Passive resistance is often more effectual than active. The party that stirs least is likely to hold out longest.

Knowledge of the world is dearly bought at the price of moral purity.

If we could but lift the covers of men's heads, as a cook lifts the covers of the pots over the fire, to look at the contents, what a stewing and boiling we should see going on there, and what a variety of things bobbing up and down!

True eloquence consists of "words that burn," and false, of gas that will not burn.

Strong thoughts seek plain words, for strength goes straight to its object, whether the object be compulsion or conviction.

Hard duties often save from hurtful courses.

The fame that like a rolling snowball grows
Oft wastes away as quickly as it rose.

The dullest man is ingenious enough to deceive himself.

Truths which appear of little value may help to bring out other truths of great value.

The vicious pervert their minds in attempting to justify their morals.

As the relations of things often extend farther than we are aware, change may produce unexpected results ; so that the longer we live, the more disposed we become to " let well alone."

Most men's minds are like footballs kicked about by contending impulses.

The exemption of women in the United States from out-door toil has some advantages, but both sexes have probably less strength of constitution in consequence.

A writer who leaves his composition to cool will often be struck with the flatness of what he thought fine, and even with the failure of his words to express his ideas.

The ruling principle of the low-minded is to shift off labor and responsibility ; to do little for others, and contrive to make others do much for them.

Virtues are faults when pushed to an extreme,
And reason's treacherous when she's not supreme ;
Ornated to rule, if she desert her post,
Her nature's altered and her honor lost.

A hasty observer in a foreign country may easily mistake the whim of an individual for the usage of the people.

The inscription which commemorated the fate of the Invincible Armada might serve as the epitaph of many magnificent expectations: *Deus afflavit et dissipantur.**

* God breathed and they are scattered.

When he whose daily walk is heavenward dies,
A single step uplifts him to the skies.

A nation self-governed, when unfit for self-guidance,
is like Phaethon in the chariot of the sun.

A man may put others to great inconvenience by too rigid an adherence to rules. The selfish use them as means of self-indulgence, and the narrow-minded overlook the end in the means.

The power of nature o'er the heart
Imparts its charm to mimic art.

Moderate and mutual obligations are favorable to gratitude, but where the obligations are great, and all on one side, gratitude is often overborne by humiliation.

The highest good which earth can give,
And that which makes it life to live,
Is the dear hope that death is gain,
And life's last pang the end of pain, —
The hope in which the good expire
Regenerate to rise,
As springs the phoenix from the fire
In glory to the skies.

This world makes promises which only the next world can perform.

Names are bonds, which connect what we hear with what we see.

To judge of the value of thoughts, express them in the simplest language. If then they appear flat, it is because they are so.

Ambitious men of ardent genius rise like volcanic heights upheaved by internal fires.

A good deal of "originality" originates in folly.

Evil has as many shapes as Proteus, and when driven out of one form is apt to appear in another.

The most common cause of failure is attempting too much and doing too little.

A man's tongue frequently gets him into trouble, and his friends frequently prevent him from getting out of it.

If there is but one step from the sublime to the ridicu-

lous, there is also but one from the profound to the prosy.

Language is so imperfect a medium of communication, that the misapprehensions of it are incessant, and a large portion of what is said must be repeated in a different form before it can be understood.

Men learn but very little of the world during the time that they spend in it.

An anxious man expecting evil rather than hoping good, as he advances in years, is glad if he can say of life, as of a mild winter, "It is wearing away without having been very uncomfortable yet."

If we guard against all the possibilities of ill, we cannot use all the probabilities of good.

Immoderate censure has little power to wound or to cure.

Good resolutions may often fail, and yet grow gradual to good habits.

The greatest part of what is done for the improvement of the world is required to prevent it from deteriorating.

The "many other reasons that I might present" are generally not worth presenting.

In great emergencies, when common minds are distracted by conflicting thoughts and feelings and unable to act, superior men see what is indispensable and shut their eyes to every thing secondary. After the earthquake of Lisbon, which destroyed thirty thousand persons, the king of Portugal in consternation asked his minister, the Marquis of Pombal, what was to be done. The minister replied, "Bury the dead and feed the living."

But few nights in a year are clear enough for astronomers to make the best observations; so but a small part of life is sufficiently serene for the loftiest contemplations.

A French writer remarks, that "what orators want in depth, they make up in length."

Men's characters depend so much on external influ-

ences that some bad men, perhaps, deserve as much credit for being no worse than they are, as some good men deserve for being as good as they are.

The infirmities of the old may subject them to inconveniences, but their diminished sensibility saves them from many discomforts.

We are so often unreasonable in our expectations, that others are continually disappointing us, so that we seldom judge them impartially until they are dead.

Impatience makes small evils great ones.

Family expenses and annual subscriptions are like revolutions. They never go backwards.

E. W.

ART. III.—THE GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.*

CHEVALIER BUNSEN, in the preface to his curious and interesting work on "Hippolytus and his Age," speaks of the "holy belief, that there must be truth in history as well as in reason and conscience, and that this truth exists in Christ and in Christianity." It is with an earnest assurance of this kind, that we turn back to the early history of our religion, and examine whatever documents remain to us connected with its origin, its doctrines, its authority, its early fortunes, and development. These are to be found mainly in the books of the New Testament. But we are immediately met by the question, What evidence have we that these books are genuine and authentic, that they have really come down to

* 1. *Dissertation on the Origin and Connection of the Gospels: with a Synopsis of the Parallel Passages in the Original and Authorized Version, and Critical Notes.* By JAMES SMITH, F.R.S. Edinburgh and London. William Blackwood & Sons. 1853. 8vo. pp. 309.

2. *Hippolytus and his Age: or, The Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus; and Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity compared.* By CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN. London. 4 vols. Post 8vo. pp. 352, 359, 384, 512.

3. *The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels.* By ANDREWS NORTON. 2d edit. Cambridge. 1846-48. 3 vols. 8vo.

us in good faith, as truthful writings, from the age and from the hands of the Apostles and their companions? This preliminary question, so far as it relates to the genuineness of the four Gospels, we propose to treat in this article. And in order that our reasoning may be plain to any intelligent person who will take the pains to examine it with care, we shall indulge in no curious criticisms or ingenious refinements of speculation, but shall endeavor to keep ourselves close to the subject, and to use as arguments only those facts and testimonies of ancient writers, which are generally admitted by all enlightened scholars who have studied the subject.

The following may be given as a statement of facts admitted on all hands. That a new religion, whose leading features are given in the New Testament, had its origin in Palestine during the reign of Tiberius, with Jesus Christ for its author. That Jesus was by birth a Jew, and under Pontius Pilate suffered an ignominious death. That the religion after his death spread rapidly through the Roman empire, so that in the reign of Nero (A. D. 51 – 68) its disciples at Rome, according to Tacitus the Roman historian, were numerous enough to attract the attention of the Emperor and be subjected to his cruelty; and in the reign of Trajan (A. D. 98 – 117), according to Pliny the younger, they had become so numerous and so influential in his province of Pontus and Bithynia in Asia Minor, that many of all ages and of every rank, not in cities only, but in lesser towns and the open country, were infected by the contagion of this superstition, and to such an extent that the temples had been almost forsaken, and the sacred solemnities for a long time suspended. “*Prope jam desolata templa . . . et sacra solemnia diu intermissa.*” That they, the Christians, as they were then called, went on increasing, till, at the beginning of the third century, or less than a hundred years after Trajan and Pliny, in spite of severe persecutions and the steady opposition of government, they had become numerous, powerful, and intelligent communities in every part of the civilized world, from the mouth of the Euphrates, if not from the Indus and Hydaspes, to the Bosphorus; from Egypt to Carthage and Numidia; and, in Europe, from the easternmost borders

of Thrace, through the classic fields of Greece and Italy, to the Pillars of Hercules, and beyond the banks of the Saone and the Rhine to the shores of the Atlantic. That they had, at this time, for teachers, able and cultivated men, familiar with all the learning and philosophy of that learned and philosophical age, and that for sacred books, containing, as they averred and believed, authentic accounts of the facts connected with the origin of their religion, its doctrines and its precepts, they then had, substantially as we now have them, the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and most of the Epistles of Paul. These are facts, which, we suppose, no enlightened scholar of our day will undertake to deny or call in question. We might go farther in our statement of undoubted facts. But we have given all that are here essential to our argument.

Now here are certain great facts to be accounted for.

I. A stupendous moral and religious revolution had been going on, not among rude and barbarous tribes, in remote and unknown places, but from the centre to the circumference of the civilized world, openly confronting its power, its learning, and its philosophy in the chosen seats of their influence, at Rome, at Athens, at Alexandria, and in the face of all that they could do to put it down; steadily advancing in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and making its converts from among all classes and conditions of men, the weak and the powerful, the ignorant and the learned, from among those who had only mind enough to understand the simplest precepts of its faith, and those whose minds had been trained in all the acute and profound philosophical distinctions and investigations of the age.

II. This stupendous moral and religious revolution had as its author a Jew, who suffered an ignominious death in the reign of Tiberius, and who was regarded, certainly from the time of Pliny, or within about half a century of his death, with peculiar reverence by his followers.

III. Before the end of the second century (A. D. 175) or about 140 years after his death, the Christians, learned, able, and honest men, had what they declared had been preserved in their churches from the beginning as original and authentic memoirs of Christ, prepared by

his immediate disciples and their associates, giving minute particulars respecting his birth, his life, his death, and his resurrection from the dead, which writings we now have substantially as they then were.

IV. In his teachings, as received in these ancient writings, we find the purest system of religion and morals, the loftiest views of God, and the profoundest views of life, duty, and immortality, that have ever been presented to mankind; and in his life we find elements of character so high and so pure, so gentle and so strong, so meek and so majestic, yet all combined with such beauty and simplicity, that not only has no one of the sons of men during the eighteen centuries that have since elapsed been able to approach him in moral greatness, but no human imagination has been able to create or to conceive a character of such mingled sweetness, dignity, and power.

Now these are facts to be accounted for. The extraordinary miraculous events connected with the origin of Christianity do not stand by themselves in the life of Jesus, or in the history of the world; but if they tower above all human actions and all other human experience, so were they associated with a character, with doctrines, and with historical events, on the same high level with themselves, transcending in dignity and power all the characters, doctrines, and events that have been recorded in the history of the world. They all belong to the same family. The features of all alike show the impress of the same Divine hand. If the miracles had stood alone, if the account of them had come down to us by themselves, with no divine life from which they sprang, no attendant teachings worthy of such an interposition, and no unparalleled historical events flowing from them as their source, they would have come to us simply as prodigies, with every mark of improbability written upon them. But now, the character and life of Jesus which we have in the same records, the doctrines which he taught, and the stupendous moral and religious revolution which in the earliest historical records connected with them pointed to them as its cause, are, at least, as remarkable as the miracles, and, apart from them, are, on any rational grounds, more incomprehensible, incredible, and unnatural than they. Men find it hard to believe a

miracle. But unless we would overthrow all historical monuments, and efface as unworthy of belief all records of the past, we must admit the facts above stated relating to the origin of Christianity; and, admitting those facts, as all enlightened scholars do, we admit facts which point to a miraculous interposition as their only natural cause and explanation, and which without that interposition stand apart, an enigma and wonder, the most monstrous and incredible of all marvels.

The character of Jesus, as we have it in the Gospels, is sustained by instructions worthy of such a character, and followed by events plainly requiring such a cause. These are facts which no one calls in question. Now, take away the peculiar endowments of Jesus through which he walked upon the sea and raised the dead, and you take away the only adequate cause and reasonable explanation of his character and instructions, and of the stupendous moral and religious revolution that ensued. You take away the Christian miracles, indeed, which seem to you incredible while they harmonize with the attendant phenomena, giving consistency and probability to all; but at the same time you also cut off all this other class of facts from their only adequate cause, and convert them into miracles far more strange, unnatural, and incredible.

This argument for the Christian miracles is precisely the same as that which the theist employs for the existence of a God. We point to the marvels of earth and sky, to all the wonderful creations around us and above us, involving such mysteries of power and skill, and ask, how these things could ever have been brought into existence except through the creative interposition of a divine intelligence and strength? There are those who say that there has been no such interposition. But in saying this, they assert the greatest miracle of all. That all these plants and animals and men and worlds should be called into existence, and generation succeed to generation for thousands of years, that such marks of wisdom, power, and goodness should shine from every fibre of every plant, from the instinct of every creature that breathes, from the intelligent soul of man, and from the harmony that reigns through the heavens amid all their radiant forms, and yet that all these things should have

been thus made and kept in existence without any creative intelligence, the work of chance or of a law as blind and incomprehensible as chance, is a miracle too monstrous, unnatural, and incredible for belief. So, the records of Christ's character, instructions, and life, with the extraordinary events that followed, when cut off from his miraculous endowments, are, like the universe without a God, effects without a cause, and therefore, in themselves, the most incredible of all miracles.

We wish to dwell on this point a little more at large ; for it seems to us to meet at once, on historical grounds, the whole *a priori* objection that is raised to the Christian miracles. The moral and religious instructions of Jesus, all admit, had their origin in Judea, and some time during the first century. But of all people then on the face of the wide earth, there was not one so formal, so narrow, and so exclusively national in their religious views, habits, and feelings, as the Jews. Yet here was a religion which at a single stroke emancipated itself from all forms, and, as a purely spiritual worship, with precepts of universal kindness and justice, offered itself to the whole world, and sent forth its disciples with an express command to proclaim it to every creature under heaven. All that the religious and moral instructors of our race, the prophets, priests, philosophers, and sages of forty centuries, had taught on those great themes, faded out, like earthly fires in the light of the rising sun, before the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth. At his name, old superstitions bowed themselves to the dust, and never rose again. The ancient temples were deserted, their solemn rites abolished, and the victims driven back again because no purchaser could be found. The new religion spread itself over the three continents, and this universal dominion was a part of its original claim and design. Now, how, except in accordance with the Gospel narrative, could these doctrines, of universal application, and with their claim to universal dominion, have had their origin among such a people? Here is a miracle not to be explained away. Then, admitting the doctrines, how can we account for their influence? How could they remove the obstinate, blinding prejudices of the Jews? How could they create such intense zeal, and urge the disciples on with such indomitable

energy to sacrifice houses and lands, friends and kindred, ease, honor, health, and life, if only they could be the means of securing the salvation of others? Whence this sudden, intense, all-pervading and inextinguishable enthusiasm? Their leader had been ignominiously executed as a criminal. What encouragement, what hope, was there left for them, unless they knew that he had risen from the dead? Here, then, is a second miracle, repeating itself a thousand times during the first age of the Church, — a miracle to which we find no parallel, and no distant approach even, in the annals of the world. Such doctrines, unless sustained and enforced by such a life, authority, and deeds as those ascribed to Jesus, stand not only without a cause, but also in connection with effects to which they are utterly inadequate.

But after we have allowed these two classes of miracles, first, the doctrines without an adequate cause, and, secondly, the historical results perpetually repeating themselves without a cause, the difficulties only multiply and magnify themselves before us. How could they, who, viewing their leader only as a man, proclaiming as his disciples the doctrines of a purely spiritual worship and of the purest morality, — how could they, within seventy years of his death, sing hymns to him as to a divine being? How could they, whose mission it was to proclaim these simple and sublime doctrines, and whose power, according to the supposition before us, resided in the purity of the doctrines, so soon begin to mix them up with fables and falsehoods, and such distortions and fabrications as the miraculous acts ascribed to Jesus must have been? None but pure and honest minds could receive those doctrines with such earnestness, and with a purpose so unfaltering devote their lives to them; and how is it possible that pure and honest minds, receiving as the highest law of life the religious and moral precepts of Jesus, could stoop to interpolations and falsehoods, inconsistent as those interpolations and falsehoods must have been with all the solemn commands of their religion, and with all their previous religious ideas and conceptions? Here, again, is a new class of miracles, which violate, not an outward law of the material universe, but the laws of our mental and moral constitution.

But suppose the men inclined to make such interpo-

lations. How could they do it? How could those interpolations and forgeries be so interwoven with the facts in the life of Jesus, that all should make, as they now do, one harmonious and consistent whole? Let any one read of the resurrection of Lazarus, the healing of the blind man, or the stilling of the tempest, where the personal bearing and the words of Jesus so harmonize with those miraculous deeds, and say whether the mind of an interpolator could create such scenes, and, adapting to them the fitting words, carry them out with such marvellous consistency and naturalness through the whole ministry of Jesus. We do not believe that it is within the compass of human genius thus to create and fill out one such scene. Wherever it has been tried, though by men of the sublimest genius, as Milton in his *Paradise Regained*, the failure is palpable and almost painful to witness. No work of poetic genius in which Jesus is introduced as an important character has ever succeeded, and it never can succeed; for it is not within the compass of man's powers to invent deeds, words, and characters grand enough to sustain their place in such a connection. Human powers are dwarfed and enfeebled when in their poetic creations they have attempted thus to set forth in living words and acts "the beginning of the creation of God."

In the early ages of the Church, that is, some time after the fourth century, attempts were made to prepare Gospels, as some have supposed that ours were prepared, by adding newly invented scenes and feigned words to old facts. These attempts have been preserved to us in what are called the "Apocryphal Gospels," and a sadder contrast cannot well be conceived than that which is found between these wretched fictions and the honest, truth-like features of the four Gospels which have come down, as we believe, from the days of the Apostles. The difficulties in the way of adding fictitious embellishments to a life like that of Jesus cannot be over-estimated, especially when we consider that all the additions made to that life, so simple, so truthful and majestic in all its parts, must have been the work of falsehood or of credulity. It is utterly impossible that either falsehood or credulity could so far comprehend the sublime and holy elements of his character, as to interweave through its

whole living texture the miraculous deeds which, with his common actions and his words, like the tree, its branches, leaves, and fruit, make one living and organic whole. Myths, growing out of a superstitious or at least a credulous state of mind, yet harmonizing with the purest and sublimest truths,—the most simple, the greatest and most truthful character ever drawn, marked in every feature by the most perfect naturalness and truth, yet made up, in three different generations, from the inventions of reverent falsehood or of a weak and superstitious credulity! The Apocryphal Gospels are just what we should expect from such a process; but the Gospels which have been received, as all admit, for nearly seventeen centuries, could not have been fabricated in this way, without a miracle more unnatural and incredible than all the miracles which they record.

Another fact we would here add, which is admitted by all distinguished scholars, even those who deny the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospels. St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, and the Galatians are received without doubt as the genuine writings of the Apostle to whom they are ascribed. Here, then, we have, by the general assent of all scholars, writings prepared within thirty or forty years of the death of Jesus, by a distinguished actor in the extraordinary events which then took place, and these writings testify over and over again to the miraculous character of Christ and his religion. Except the crowning miracle of all, his resurrection, they do not often formally declare the reality of the Christian miracles;—but from the beginning, they proceed on the supposition of their truth. Their reasonings, their exhortations, their doctrines, the fine enthusiasm that runs through them, the lofty strains of thought and emotion, so depend on a miraculous dispensation, so presuppose something like the Gospel narratives, that, unless those or similar facts were believed in by the writer, there is no meaning in them. Letters, so alive with the Christian spirit of those times, so towering to heaven with the earnestness of their faith, indicating such vigor and comprehensiveness of thought and such an impassioned sincerity of utterance, are all collapsed, without intelligence or life, unless the writer himself thoroughly believed in his religion as one which had been

recently revealed and approved by signs and wonders. We are here brought into the very arena on which the great moral and religious revolution of which we have spoken was going on. We are brought into intimate connection with one of the ablest leaders in that movement. We see the intensity of his feelings, the undoubting assurance of his faith, the breadth and calmness of his wisdom, the sacrifices he made, all resting upon and implying a belief in the miraculous facts which he, at first a violent opponent, had had the fullest opportunity to examine. Here, then, in the existence and character of these writings, is another extraordinary fact, easily accounted for if we admit the Christian miracles, but utterly inexplicable on any other supposition.

We might also, on the strongest internal evidence, — evidence a hundred times stronger than would be required to establish as genuine any classical writing of antiquity, — assume the genuineness of the book of Acts; but as we are here dealing only with undisputed facts, we defer that for the present, and stop here, for a moment, to consider precisely how the argument now stands in its relation to the genuineness of the Gospels.

The great reason why a large class of writers cannot believe in their genuineness is, that the miraculous events which they relate are in a very high degree improbable. We admit that the miracles in themselves are in a very high degree improbable; but here are facts admitted by every one, of a most extraordinary character, which, without the miracles, are improbable in a far higher degree than the miracles themselves. The improbability of the miracles, therefore, is more than balanced by the greater improbability of the facts without them, and we are obliged to admit the credibility of the miracles as the only rational way of accounting for the facts. The miracles, then, taken in connection with the facts on which we have dwelt, furnish no presumption against the authenticity of the Gospel narratives in which we find them, but rather the reverse; since without them we could have no clew to any rational explanation of the facts which all must admit, and which would stand before us as prodigies and wonders more incredible than any miracles that are reported in the Gospels. In short,

the question is reduced to this, — whether it is more improbable that miracles should take place by a divine intervention or without it; since, in one or the other case, they must be admitted. The miraculous accounts, then, create no presumption against the authenticity, and therefore none against the genuineness, of the Gospels; for if the miracles furnish no presumption against the truthfulness of the narratives, they furnish none against the supposition that they were written by men so situated as to be able to know the truth of what they wrote.

But on this point, the facts create a presumption on the other side. The fact that such a revolution as we have spoken of did take place at that precise period of time; that all the documents relating to it point to a miraculous interposition as its cause; that Jesus Christ did then live and die; that less than a century and a half after his death, all the Christians of whom any account has come down to us, from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, numbering in their ranks the most able and learned men throughout the most civilized portions of the globe, did believe in miracles as lying at the basis of their religion, and everywhere received the Gospel narratives as authentic accounts of transactions handed down and believed in from the beginning; and the other fact, as unquestioned, that the Epistles of Paul were actually written in the midst of the events which they assume or relate, — a portion of the life of that period daguerretyped and preserved to our days, — and that these writings are in harmony with the Gospels, implying their leading facts and indicating a state of things naturally growing out of them and in their progress perpetuating themselves in historical monuments and events such as we can account for in no other way; — these undisputed and indisputable facts prove that from the days of the Apostles the followers of Jesus did receive and propagate his religion as a miraculous dispensation. They may have been deceived, or they may have sought to deceive others. But it is, beyond all question, a fact, that every historical document connected with Christianity at that early period, from the Epistles of Paul to the writings of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen, do assert or assume the reality of miracles, and

the earliest heathen writers* who speak of Christianity speak of it in such a way as to imply on the part of the Christians a belief in something miraculous and supernatural. As, then, the recognition of miracles enters as an essential element into all the writings of the early Christians back to St. Paul, the distinguished contemporary and associate of the Apostles, and as he on the authority of the Apostles distinctly mentions the resurrection of Jesus as a fact made known by his personal presence to above five hundred at once, the presumption is, that all the leaders in that wonderful movement did maintain Christianity as a miraculous dispensation. If any of their number had prepared written memoirs of Jesus, though they had never come down to us, the presumption would be, that they also would relate miraculous events, and if, in our times, writings should be found purporting to come from the Apostles, giving an account of the life of Jesus without any thing to indicate his miraculous endowments, this fact alone, even if our four Gospels had been lost, would create a presumption against their genuineness.

Having now, on historical grounds, removed all presumption against the genuineness of the Gospels growing out of their miraculous character, we are prepared, as we should be in regard to any other ancient writings, to consider the direct historical evidence of their genuineness. The same amount of evidence that would satisfy us in any other case ought also to satisfy us in this. We repeat and insist on this point, because, both among the friends and the enemies of our religion, there is an undefined and unreasonable impression that the genuineness of our sacred books is to be established by proofs different in kind and degree from those which are regarded as sufficient to prove the genuineness of any other writings. If the evidence is sufficient to remove every reasonable doubt in any other case, it ought to remove every reasonable doubt in this, and it is neither reasona-

* The "*exitiabilis superstitio*" of Tacitus (*Ann.*, Lib. XV. c. xlv.) and the "*maleficæ superstitionis*" (magical superstition) as well as the "*carmen Christo, quasi Deo*" of Pliny (*Lib. X. Epist. 96* [al. 97]: C. Plinius Trajano), could in no way be applied to the religion of the Christians, unless, in the opinion of those writers, they had laid claim to some miraculous agency or authority.

ble nor right to demand any thing more, though more has been given.

In the first place, the Gospels were received as the genuine works of those whose names they now bear, by the whole Christian world at the earliest period of which any full and distinct accounts have come down to us, and with the understanding everywhere among Christians then, that they always had been so received from the days of the Apostles. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, born in Asia Minor as early as A. D. 140, in his youth* a disciple of Polycarp, who had been a hearer of the Apostle John, speaks of the four Gospels, ascribes them to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and gives some few particulars respecting their origin.

"Matthew," he says, "among the Hebrews published a Gospel in their own language; while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome, and founding a church there. And after their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter (or translator) of Peter, himself delivered to us in writing what Peter preached; and Luke, the companion of Paul, recorded the Gospel preached by him. Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, who leaned upon his breast, likewise published a Gospel, while he dwelt at Ephesus in Asia."†

In another place‡ he characterizes the Gospels, and quotes from them in such a way as to leave no doubt that he refers to the same books that we now have.

Here is the testimony of one who, in his nativity, lived (A. D. 160) within sixty years of the death of St. John, as the disciple of one who had been St. John's companion, and who from that source alone must have had ample opportunities to know how the Gospels had been prepared, and whether they had been received from the time of the Apostles. At the age of seventeen he was separated from St. John by an interval of time the same as that which now separates us from Washington, and from the other Apostles by an interval about the same as that which separates us from the time when Washington began to distinguish himself in the Indian and French wars. Now, apart from public documents, we know what innumerable means are now open to us for learning the prominent events of Washington's life,

* *Contra Hær.*, Lib. III. c. 3. † *Ibid.* Lib. III. c. 1. ‡ *Lib.* III. c. 2.

the genuineness of his writings, and of all the most important works relating to his history. Not only have his great deeds perpetuated themselves in public monuments, and inscribed themselves on public records and in our national history, but they live on in the very atmosphere of our country, and a thousand living men who had known him, who had heard the facts from his lips or the lips of his contemporaries, read them in his writings or received them from other unquestioned authority, would rise before us to contradict and put us down, if we should publicly assign to him any remarkable work to which he had not given his sanction and authority. So in the early days of Irenæus, in Asia Minor, where he dwelt, the acts and words of Jesus and the Apostles lived on in the very atmosphere of every Christian community. If narratives such as the Gospels had come down from the Apostles and their associates, their origin and history would be fresh in the minds of all enlightened believers. If they had not so come down, and an attempt had been made to put them off upon the churches as original and authentic memoirs, a thousand voices would have risen to discredit their authority. Aged men, who had conversed with the Apostles or with their companions and successors, would have testified against them.

Theophilus, who A. D. 168 was made bishop of Antioch where the disciples had first been called Christians, refers, as Irenæus does, to the Gospels as if they were then received with the same respect as the ancient prophecies, and quotes from John and Matthew, though he does not mention the names of the authors in the single work which remains to us of his writings. A few years later, but before the close of the century, that is, before A. D. 200, Tertullian, bishop of Carthage, ascribes the Gospels to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, quotes, as Mr. Norton says, from every chapter in the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, and distinctly asserts that they had always been received as genuine, from the days of the Apostles. We quote on this point a paragraph from Mr. Norton, to whom we are indebted for most of our citations from the Fathers.

“In defending the genuine Gospel of Luke,” says Mr. Nor-

ton,* "against the mutilated Gospel used by Marcion, Tertullian has the following passage. . . . 'To give the sum of all, if it be certain that *that* is most genuine which is most ancient, that most ancient which has been from the beginning, and that from the beginning which was from the Apostles; so it is equally certain, that *that* was delivered by the Apostles, which has been held sacred in the churches of the Apostles.' He then enumerates various churches founded by Apostles, which were still flourishing, and proceeds: 'I affirm, then, that in those churches, and not in those only which were founded by Apostles, but in all which have fellowship with them, that Gospel of Luke which we so steadfastly defend has been received from its first publication.' 'The same authority,' he adds, 'of the Apostolic churches will support the other Gospels, which, in like manner, we have from them, conformably to their copies.'"

Here is an assertion, made by an eminent bishop in the face of the whole Christian world, declaring as a fact universally recognized in all Christian bodies, that these four Gospels were received as genuine and sacred books in all Christian churches, and that they had been so received from the time of the Apostles; and this assertion was thus publicly made within less than a century after the death of St. John, at a time when almost every church must have been able to place in his opponents' hands the means of confuting it, if it were not true. For these were no obscure or unimportant writings; but if his testimony was true, they were held as sacred and authoritative books, towards which all eyes were turned. And if his testimony was not true, the fraud or the mistake was so gross and palpable, that it must at once have been detected and exposed. Nor was Tertullian an obscure or unimportant man, that he should dare thus to trifle with the truth, and hope to escape by his insignificance.

From this time forward, such testimony is so abundant, that no further specimens need to be given. Origen, a most learned, able, and scrupulously conscientious man, born about A. D. 185, has quoted so liberally from the Gospels in his voluminous writings, that, in Mr. Norton's language, "supposing all other copies of them to be lost, those of Matthew, Luke, and John might be restored almost entire from his quotations alone." His account

* *Genuineness of the Gospels*, Vol. I. pp. 139, 140 (2d edit.).

of the way in which they were composed accords with that of Irenæus and Tertullian. Numerous extracts from the writings of Celsus, who wrote against Christianity about A. D. 175, have been preserved, and they nowhere deny the genuineness of the Gospels, or intimate so much as a doubt that they had been always universally received as genuine. Nor from the time of the Apostles to the close of the third century is there anywhere a scrap of testimony to be found from any writer, Christian or Pagan, catholic or heretic, which directly or indirectly calls them in question, while assertions to the contrary were constantly made and reiterated in the face of the whole world. In the controversies of that early period, when this fatal objection might have been so easily raised if it had been true, we have no reason to suppose that it ever was raised. The Christians in their rapid increase were most jealously watched by eyes quick to see any unguarded point that might be exposed, and, if the Gospels had not been received as genuine from the beginning, the fact must at once have been known to learned enemies and apostates; but there is no particle of evidence to show that such a charge was ever brought against them.

Within a few years an ancient manuscript has been discovered at Mount Athos, which is proved, as we think, by the able and accomplished writer who has analyzed its contents, to have been written by Hippolytus, who was Bishop of the Port of Rome (*Episcopus Portuensis*) at the beginning of the third century; and this, like every other Christian writing which has come down from that period, bears testimony to the Gospels, and sometimes, as we shall see hereafter, quotes from writers of a much earlier date, in such a way as to confirm the view which we have taken.

Now, if we were obliged to stop here, if, in the wreck which has befallen the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and the suspicions to which the mutilated fragments of most of their works that have come down to us are exposed, we had no other word of testimony to offer, we submit that the external evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels is, beyond comparison, greater than that which we have for the genuineness of any other ancient writings, and far greater than would be required in any

other case to satisfy the most sceptical inquirer. We exaggerate the intervening space between the Apostles and the Fathers whose testimony we have quoted. Abundant means for confirmation and refutation must have been within their reach, living, as the earliest of them did, within a century of the time when the earliest of the Gospels was probably published. It was no obscure fact, buried in the privacy of unimportant or domestic events; but one professing to connect itself, as a most influential agent, with the greatest movement that the world has ever known; and great events, like great mountains, are seen and recognized from afar. The fact of the general reception of the Gospels, proclaimed so solemnly and so generally within a century of the death of St. John, if a fact at all, was one known and recognized as a most important fact by the whole body of Christian believers from the days of the Apostles. Nothing could be more a matter of all-pervading interest and of universal notoriety among them. For the assertions were not simply, that here were writings which had been prepared by the Apostles and their associates and faithfully preserved to that time, but writings so prepared, and *as such received and acknowledged, and their authority respected, in all Christian churches from the time of the Apostles down to that day*; and these assertions were made within a period of time from the origin of those writings less by forty years than that which now separates us from the time of Addison and Steele. The Christian communities before whom these assertions were uttered, were not made up of ignorant and sluggish men, who had no special interest in the matter, but they embraced most of the learning and the intelligence of the age, men who put property, friends, and life at stake because of their belief in facts which, it was asserted, had come down to them in these writings. It was not possible that they should have been imposed upon in these matters.

Twelve years ago, we were acquainted with several persons, then in the full possession of all their faculties, who remembered distinctly facts which took place in the famous siege of Londonderry in Ireland, which facts they had received directly from one who himself had witnessed them. Here were men relating, from one who

had been an eyewitness, events which took place one hundred and fifty-two years before, — a longer interval than that which separated Irenæus and Tertullian from the ministry of Jesus. Yet no facts, to such an extent as those in the life of Christ, were fitted to impress themselves on the mind, to be treasured up and handed down by oral tradition and by writing with scrupulous fidelity and exactness. And if they did not take place, there are no spurious stories which it would be more difficult within so short a period to get up and impose on men as facts, and to make the foundation of teachings, efforts, and a moral revolution like that which then took place. The writers whose testimony we have given, and all the more intelligent members of the Christian communities in which they lived, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, must have known whether they were testifying to a truth or a falsehood, and under such circumstances it was impossible that they could attempt so gross and monstrous an imposition as their assertions must indicate unless they were true.

We have now before us testimony of a decisive character, given previous to the close of the second century, that the Gospels were then, and from the times of the Apostles had been, received in all Christian churches as the genuine writings of the men whose names they now bear, and there is not one word of testimony from any ancient writer in opposition to this. But this is not all. Among the scanty fragments of writings which have come down to us as of unquestionable genuineness from a yet earlier age, there are testimonies which go to confirm the evidence already given. Justin Martyr, born about A. D. 100, in two or three of his works which remain to us, gives a brief sketch of our Saviour's life, which, in matter and words, corresponds remarkably with the accounts we have, though he adds one or two circumstances which at that early period might have come to him in other ways. He quotes, as from "the Memoirs by Peter," a passage found only in the Gospel of Mark, and speaks of "those Memoirs which I affirm to have been composed by Apostles of Christ and their companions." He does not, however, mention the names of the writers. But Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, III. 39, has preserved a passage from Papias, Bishop of

Hierapolis, in Syria, between 110 and 120, in which he says: "Matthew wrote the oracles (*i. e.* of Jesus) in Hebrew, and every one interpreted them as he was able." "Of Mark," we quote from an article in our own pages,* "Papias writes more at length, and more specifically, and grounds his statements on the authority of an earlier witness, namely, the Presbyter John. The purport of what he states on this head is well known, — that Mark, Peter's interpreter (*ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου*), not having been a hearer or a follower of the Lord, but only of the Apostle, set down in order what he remembered of the sayings and doings of Christ, according to Peter's preaching, who, it is remarked, did not relate things in their order, but according as the occasion of their preaching demanded; and it is added, that Mark was careful neither to omit nor falsify any thing of what he heard." The precise weight of the testimony of Papias to the genuineness of the Gospels is this. Near the close of the second century, from A. D. 175 onwards, we have abundant testimony that the four Gospels were written by those to whom we now ascribe them. About A. D. 140 Justin Martyr describes these memoirs as drawn up by "Apostles and their companions," without mentioning the writers' names. At a period thirty years earlier, Papias says, on the authority of John the Presbyter, a contemporary of the Apostles, "that Matthew compiled the sacred sayings or oracles of Christ, and that Mark, the interpreter or translator of Peter, prepared from Peter an account of the sayings and doings of Christ." Justin Martyr describes the relation of the writers to Jesus without giving their names; Papias mentions the names of two of the writers; and both the description and the names agree with the later and fuller accounts which have come to us, and thus carry us back by an unbroken series of witnesses to the very age of the Apostles. The indirect and incidental way in which the testimony is given, makes it, like the separate links of a chain of circumstantial evidence, free from all suspicion, and therefore the more certain in the results to which it conducts us.†

* *Christian Examiner*, Fourth Series, Vol. XIX. pp. 373, 374.

† The writer in the *Christian Examiner*, from whom we have quoted,

We have thus brought the evidence back to the age of the Apostles. The Epistles of Paul confirm the authenticity of the Gospels, by bringing us within the sphere of a life, events, and habits of feeling and of thought, which in a great measure presuppose, even where they do not directly allude to, facts such as are given in the Gospels. But "The Acts of the Apostles," on evidence entirely independent of historical testimony, in its connection with the Epistles of Paul (as shown by Dr. Paley in his *Horæ Paulinæ*), and on evidence drawn from the events described (as shown by Mr. Smith, in his very elaborate treatise on the voyage and shipwreck of St. Paul), is proved to have been the work of a contemporary writer, and the author of that book, in language not to be misunderstood, speaks of himself as the author of the third Gospel. So that here we have the testimony of an author who undoubtedly belonged to the age of the Apostles, and was their companion and fellow-laborer, to the genuineness of the Gospel of Luke; that is, to the fact that it was written by a companion of the Apostles.

An able and ingenious writer has said, "that the integ-

says (as above, p. 374): "It will remain to be shown, that the Papian testimony has any thing to do with that second book (the Gospel of Mark). And in fact, all historical means of identifying those notes of Peter's preaching and our second Gospel absolutely fail us." From the introduction to Smith's "Dissertation on the Origin and Connection of the Gospels," pp. lxx. and lxxi., we copy the following decisive statement to prove that the Mark of Papias was the author of our second Gospel, only premising that Irenæus (III. 3) speaks of himself as a hearer of Polycarp, and (V. 33) he speaks of Papias as "an ancient man, a hearer of John and companion (*ἑταῖρος*) of Polycarp"; a contemporary, therefore, of his own, though an older man. "What," says Mr. Smith, "are the facts of the case tending to show that this Mark of Papias is the Evangelist Mark? Irenæus tells us, that Mark's Gospel began and ended precisely as our present Gospel does. Therefore it was the same. Irenæus and Papias were contemporaries, for both of them knew Polycarp. Was the Mark of Papias different from the Mark of Irenæus? Had the critic, instead of reasoning upon the extract from Papias as it is usually quoted, taken the trouble of looking into Eusebius, who has preserved it, he would have seen that it was 'Mark who wrote the Gospel' that Papias alluded to. This is expressly stated by Eusebius, and it is a point upon which he could not be mistaken, with the work of Papias before him. *Περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτίθεται διὰ τούτων καὶ τούτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μόνον τάξει, κ. τ. λ.* — 'He (Papias) mentions a tradition concerning Mark, who wrote the Gospel, in these words: "The Presbyter (John) also said this, Mark being the translator of Peter, what he recorded he wrote with accuracy, but not in exact order,"' &c. — *Hist. Ecc.*, III. 39."

urity of the records of the Christian faith is substantiated by evidence in a tenfold proportion more various, copious, and conclusive, than that which can be adduced in support of any other ancient writings." * But no one doubts that Horace wrote the Epistles and Satires attributed to him, or that Tacitus wrote the History and Annals that have come to us as his works. The genuineness of these writings is established by evidence so strong, that no scholar would dare to call it in question; and if any one should, he would be considered either very ignorant or entirely wanting in common sense. But the evidence of the Gospels is tenfold greater than that by which the genuineness of these writings is sustained. Till, therefore, every classical work which claims to have come down to us from antiquity is cast aside as spurious, we have no right to call in question the genuineness of the Gospels. But the importance of the subject, and perhaps the very variety and extent of the proofs, have blinded the judgment of men, and filled them with doubts, without any regard to the evidence in the case. As there are religious zealots and fanatics who adopt religious views without reason or against it, so there are zealots and fanatics out of the pale of Christianity, who, in the face of what they would consider overwhelming evidence in any other similar matter, without reason or against its plainest deductions, reject any thing and every thing that might be thought to confirm the authority of our religion. And this practice has been so long persisted in by the enemies of Christianity, and has so left its mark indirectly on the works of those who in opposition to them have written in its defence, that, with most men who look into the subject, there seems to be a sort of impression that they have a right here to be dissatisfied with an amount of proof which in all similar cases would remove every shadow of doubt from their minds. But that which is enough to satisfy the mind in the one case ought to be enough to satisfy it in the other. It is unreasonable to demand more; though, as we have already seen, the amount of evidence for the Gospels is tenfold stronger than the most sceptical inquirer asks in order to establish the genuineness of the ancient classics.

* History of the Transmission of Ancient Books, by Isaac Taylor, pp. 4, 5.

The momentous consequences involved in these inquiries make us fearful, where we should otherwise have neither fear nor doubt. But the consequences involved do not affect the nature or certainty of the proof. There are persons who, when they go to the top of a very high tower, cannot free themselves from the impression that it must break down under them. You may prove to them by undoubted statements of fact, that it is capable of sustaining ten thousand times their weight. They assent to what you say; but, while they stand there so far above the earth, they cannot feel secure. We have had this feeling of distrust, and have been entirely unable to get rid of it, sometimes when standing on the top of a perpendicular and exceedingly lofty precipice, though we knew all the while that the rock, whose strength seemed about to give way under us, was sufficient to support the weight of a whole mountain. Many persons have a feeling not unlike this in examining the evidences of our religion. They see how strong they are, how more than sufficient they would be in any other similar inquiries; and yet, because consequences of such vast magnitude and importance depend on the result, they distrust the calm decision of their own judgment, and fear in regard to the validity of conclusions which rest on the most perfect and legitimate processes of reasoning. The brain swims and the mind is unsettled by the thought of the elevation to which they have been raised by the most substantial proofs; and, from the lofty summit of Christian promise which they have reached, they fear lest the whole fabric beneath them should give way, though, as they ascended step by step, they saw it in every part built up and buttressed round, with a mountain-like firmness and solidity. We must divest ourselves of these feelings. We must study the evidences of Christianity and of its written documents as we should the evidence of other and less important matters of history, not satisfied with less nor demanding a great deal more, to remove every shadow of doubt from our minds. The consequences involved in the inquiry have nothing to do with the amount of evidence necessary to establish a fact beyond every reasonable suspicion. "The evidence of the genuineness and authenticity of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures," says Isaac Taylor, in the same book which we

have already quoted, (pp. 187, 188,) "has, for no other reason except the consequences involved in an admission of their truth, been treated with a flagrant disregard of equity and common sense, to which no parallel can be adduced." And he adds, with equal truth: "This violation of common equity in relation to the Scriptures has been favored by the mere circumstance of their having to be continually defended. It matters not how impudently false an imputation may be; the reply, though in the most absolute sense conclusive, begets almost as much suspicion as it dissipates. Herein consists all the strength of infidel writings; they call for a defence of that which is attacked, and this defence seems to imply that the question may fairly be argued, and that it is in some degree doubtful."

Here, then, we are willing to leave our case. The evidence which we have brought forward is drawn from no private or doubtful sources, but from writings whose genuineness no scholar of any weight, even in this age of scepticism, has, so far as we know, called in question. Any intelligent and careful reader is competent to judge of its force in relation to the subject before us. A great deal is sometimes said about the prodigious learning of certain writers who have framed theories in opposition to the authenticity and genuineness of the Gospels. But we are not aware that they lay claim to any original sources of information on these subjects, which are not equally open to the researches of other inquirers. The truth is, that all the books written within two centuries of the death of Christ, which have any bearing on this subject, are perfectly well known to scholars, and would fill only a small part of a small library; and from these few books, fragments of which are indeed to be found in later writers, we must draw all the historical testimony that is of any considerable value, or that ought to have any considerable weight, with an enlightened and conscientious inquirer. The method too often pursued by those who deny the genuineness of the Gospels has been to cloud and bewilder their readers by a mass of irrelevant and unimportant matter, drawn from the speculations, the crude and uncertain statements, and even from the spurious writings of a later age.

Indeed, there is, beyond what we have already alluded to, an impression lingering in the minds even of the most intelligent and enlightened believers, that a much greater amount of evidence is needed here than is required to prove the genuineness of other writings. For, it is said, spurious and fabulous stories naturally gather round such cases as this. But we doubt altogether the fact here alleged. The greatest teachers of the world have thrown around them an atmosphere of light which is fatal to every fabulous creation or growth. Their truths are clothed in a simplicity and grandeur which painfully contrast with the affected air of greatness which inferior minds, from a false and entirely different point of view, undertake to throw around themselves. Their teachings are too much the living products of their own thought, to allow the parasitic imitations and deformities of other minds to grow out of them and to partake of the same organic life. When the freshness of their youthful vigor is gone, trees begin to be covered with lichens and mosses, and, thus arrayed in ornaments not their own. These statements, made in accordance with the philosophy of the subject, are, we believe, sustained by historical facts. If, as those who deny the authenticity of the Gospels suppose, Jesus was simply the greatest moral and religious teacher that the world has known, with no power of working miracles, then the person who in his mind and fortunes, his life, teachings, and death, bore a closer resemblance to him than any other teacher that ever lived, was Socrates. But there never was a man around whom it would have been more impossible for spurious memoirs and miraculous fictions to grow up. Before the keenness of his intellect and the very nature of his instructions, though he believed himself guided by a personal divinity, all such fabulous creations must have slunk away, if it had ever entered the mind of any one of his distant and enthusiastic admirers to attempt to connect them with him. So with Confucius, the only other teacher who can be named in the same connection, no fabulous legends could stand the blaze of his strong intellect, as it shone out from his writings, long enough to attach themselves to him as a part of his life in the estimation of after ages. So, separated from the miracu-

lous element, there is in the mind of Jesus, showing itself through his life and writings, a far-seeing keenness and wide-reaching cast of thought, a natural, common-sense comprehensiveness of wisdom, a breadth and elevation of moral sentiment, a calm and reasonable faith free from every element of excitement or fanaticism, which must have been the despair of any enthusiastic admirer who should dare attempt to add new incidents to his history, or wrap in a tissue of marvellous adventures the majestic simplicity of his character and his instructions. To make such an attempt while his thoughts and the memory of his life were still fresh in the minds and hearts of men, as they must have been for at least a century after his death, far from being what is usual in such cases, would have been a thing wholly unparalleled in connection with one of the great moral and religious teachers of mankind. And that men should not only have attempted so extraordinary an experiment with the life of Jesus, but that they should have succeeded in their attempt, and so incorporated their foreign marvels into his life as in no wise to affect its simplicity, blending them everywhere naturally with his common thought and speech, would be a greater miracle than any act which they have ascribed to him. Let any one read the Gospels with a view to this, and see how some of the simplest and sublimest of Christ's words flow calmly and naturally out of his miraculous deeds, a living organic part of a living organic whole, and let him seek to separate the one from the other without destroying the life of both, and he may have some idea of the impossibility of such myths and fabulous accretions as have been ascribed to the history of Jesus. Instead of such fabrications being common in such cases, we do not believe that another instance of the kind can be brought up from all the records of our race. No memoirs of this kind, professing to have been written by the original followers of Mahomet or their associates, have ever enrolled themselves among the sacred Mohammedan writings; and as to the Koran, which claims to have come through him, no one denies its claim. It is not till the simple and sublime doctrines of a great religious teacher have begun to lose their vital influence over the souls of men, and superstition begins to supplant a pure and simple

faith, that a fabulous growth of miracles and wonders springs up and shapes itself into myths and legends, which become, like the apocryphal Gospels and miraculous stories of the Dark Ages, a part of the popular belief. Fabulous creations like these soon succeed in encircling the history of pretenders and fanatics, and grow into it with a parasitical pertinacity; but they have never attached themselves to any great teacher as genuine and faithful memoirs, written by his immediate followers, with minute and circumstantial details connected with particular times and places, abounding in numerous, unconscious, and almost unnoticed allusions, which are to be verified only by a minute knowledge of the customs of the age and the natural features of the country. Far from being, as is sometimes said, what is common in such cases, this is precisely such a thing, we believe, as was never attempted, certainly never with success, in any such case. The myths of classical antiquity and of the Middle Ages belong to entirely different classes of compositions.

In this connection, no arguments have, perhaps, been urged with more plausibility and popular effect against the genuineness of the four Gospels than those which have been drawn from the apocryphal Gospels. But we ask no stronger argument on our side than that to be derived from a careful comparison of the two classes of writings, in their style, their tone of sentiment, and the general character of their contents.

As to their external history, the difference is as great. The attempt has often been made to show that the apocryphal Gospels were received by the early Christians with the same show of respect, and on the same kind of evidence, as the four Gospels which we now receive. But there is no sort of fairness, precision, or truth in this way of viewing the subject. It is carrying back the loose theories, the credulous statements, the fantastic and childish dreams of the fourth and fifth centuries, (some much later,) and, without keeping the difference of time in view, placing them as of equal authority beside the conduct and testimony of the first and second centuries, when men were competent to say what Gospels had and what had not been received as genuine from the days of the Apostles. The only way of meet-

ing this course of reasoning (if reasoning it can be called), which would envelop the clear light of early Christian testimony and facts in the mists and myths of a later and inferior age, is to insist on a rigorous chronological method, to set down dates with the most scrupulous care, to trace authorities to their source, and to admit no vague testimony without first determining precisely what it amounts to and the exact time to which it belongs. A want of thoroughness and precision here has been the cause of a vast deal of confusion and bewilderment.

But what are the facts relating to the apocryphal Gospels? What is the historical evidence on which they rest, as compared with that which we have given for the canonical Gospels? For a full and circumstantial answer to this question, we would refer to the eleventh chapter in the third volume of Mr. Norton's work on the Genuineness of the Gospels. We would particularly recommend a comparison between this chapter and an article relating to Dr. Hoffman's work on "The Christ of the Apocryphal Gospels," in the *Christian Examiner* for July, 1852.

The results of Mr. Norton's inquiries may be briefly stated here. There is no evidence in the writings either of heretics or of Catholic Christians belonging to the first two centuries, that any one of the apocryphal Gospels which have come down to us was in existence at that time, while there is the most direct and overwhelming testimony that our four Gospels were then received and held in respect by all Christian churches. There was a mutilated copy of the Gospel of Luke, which Tertullian mentions in his controversy with the Marcionites as being received by them. But except a Gospel according to the Hebrews, which Mr. Norton supposes to have been the Hebrew original of the Gospel of Matthew, "the Gospel according to the Egyptians," he says, "is the only apocryphal book, bearing the title of a Gospel, that is mentioned by any writer during the three centuries succeeding our Lord's death, from which a single quotation is professedly given, or of which it is probable that a single fragment remains"; and in respect to this Gospel there is no reason to suppose that it was received as an authoritative or sacred book by any sect of Christians, or that it purported to be in any sense a history of Christ's ministry. The whole matter relating

to the apocryphal Gospels, so far as it concerns our subject, is thus summed up by Mr. Norton : —

“They were obscure writings, very little regarded or known by any Christians, catholic or heretical. We find in Justin Martyr and Tertullian nothing concerning them; in Irenæus, two titles, one purporting to be that of a book, which most probably was not extant, and the other likewise perhaps originating in mistake, but supposed to belong to a Valentinian Gospel, which there is no evidence that the Valentinians ever appealed to. Clement gives some extracts from a Gospel, which he found quoted by the Eneerates or ascetics. Serapion mentions the Gospel of Peter, as in the hands of persons belonging to a parish in his diocese, called Rhossus, and as used by some of the Docetæ. Origen once refers to the same book. And the author of the Homilies on Luke adds three other titles of books of which he gives no account. These are all the notices of apocryphal Gospels to be found in all the writers of Christian antiquity before the end of the third century. Had they been works of any notoriety, works possessing any intrinsic or accidental importance, we should have had page after page of controversy, discussion, and explanation concerning them.”*

But how was the Scripture canon established? This is a question which really has nothing to do with the subject before us. But, as it has been often treated in a way to throw discredit upon all the books which it adopts, we will answer the question in the words of one whose competency to speak on any subject connected with the history of Christianity during the first three centuries no one will undertake to dispute. Chevalier Bunsen, in the second volume of “Hippolytus and his Age” (p. 148), says :—“Scripture was constituted as canonical by the Church. The decision of the Church was founded on good evidence, which we have sufficient materials to examine and appreciate. An impartial examination shows that, where we have uncertainties and doubts, the ancient Church had them likewise, and that the ancient traditional evidence is not only in itself better than the systematical opinions of the men of the fourth century, but also agrees with the result of sober and independent criticism.” We do not receive the Gospels on the authority of the Church because it adopted them into its canon, but on the authority of the evidence which

* *Genuineness of the Gospels*, Vol. III. pp. 264–266 (2d edit.).
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has come down to us from the earliest times. The fact, however, that the Church had doubts where we have them because of a deficiency of evidence, — doubts which never extended to any one of the Gospels, — shows the honesty with which their decision was made. If they have handed down to us their doubts respecting the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Second Epistle of Peter, Jude, and the Apocalypse, it leaves us to infer that every proper inquiry was made, and that they had good and sufficient reasons for believing in the genuineness of the books respecting which they had no doubts. But this is aside from our argument.

Within the present century, theories almost without number inconsistent with the genuineness of the Gospels have been brought forward, each standing its brief day, to be destroyed by some more youthful successor, which soon falls into the decrepitude of a premature and sickly old age, and is succeeded in turn by some newer creation of learned and ephemeral ingenuity. Of the two latest theories that have come to our knowledge (for that of Strauss, we are told, is already imbecile with age in the land of its birth), some account has been given in our pages, that the readers of the Examiner might not be wholly ignorant of what is going on in the theological world.

For an abstract of the views and arguments of the Tübingen critics, we would refer to two articles, one in No. CLXVII, the other in No. CLXIX. of the Examiner, respectively entitled "The Christ of the Jews," and "The Christ of the Gentiles." We can only give the slightest summary in this place. The Gospel according to the Hebrews, we are told (No. CLXVII. p. 170), was "not an apocryphal book," but "was exclusively used by the Ebionite Christians till the middle of the second century, after which period it fell into disrepute, as containing the opinions of heretics. While it flourished, we have no certain proof that any other Gospels existed; on their appearance, it slowly retired from view." The Gospel of Matthew grew out of this, and was almost wholly a Jewish conception of Christ. "The Gospel of Luke contains a doctrine substantially the same with Matthew's" (p. 173), "but on the whole the impression is more consistently and thoroughly Jewish" (p. 174). "The Christ of the second Gospel is the Jewish Messiah, though faintly sketched. The strong Hebrew traits of

Matthew's Christ are almost obliterated. He is baptized; is once called the Son of David, but by a blind man; is confessed by Peter to be the Christ; and is hailed as such by the people, who cry, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Blessed be the kingdom of our father David, which cometh in the name of the Lord.' These incidents present to us the shadowy form of the old Jewish Christ, as it is changing almost imperceptibly into another shape. He is losing his identity, but still is no other than himself, though not wholly himself. The human outline is yet distinct, though its edges are slightly blurred and hazy, as if the figure were softening, melting into the angelic." (p. 175.) The First Epistle of Peter and the Apocalypse make a great advance on this. And the Tübingen critics take especial pains to say that these diverse Christologies are by no means different aspects of the same historical personage. "It is not one identical character," but "each writer describes a personage of his own." "The Christ of Matthew would not satisfy Mark; the Christ of Mark would be too unsubstantial for Peter." (p. 182.) "Paul's Christ was an ideal, not an historical person." (No. CLXIX. p. 3.) The Christ of John, the Logos made flesh, the body no essential part of his person, the history every now and then vanishing into the apparent, Jesus all but entirely free from the infirmities ascribed to him in the other Gospels, indicates a far more advanced state of speculation. "A hundred and fifty years after the death of Christ were necessary to transform him into the Logos." (p. 34.)

Such, in its briefest form, is the theory of the Gospels proposed by the Tübingen critics. With respect to it, we would say, first of all, that there is no external historical evidence that goes to confirm it. The whole voice of Christian antiquity is against it. In the second place, the Christ of Matthew and of Luke was not, as here represented, the Christ expected by the Hebrews, but a violent shock to all their ideas. From the opening words of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount, with which in Matthew his ministry begins, down to his ignominious death upon the cross, his whole life and teachings would only have been a succession of shocks and disappointments to those who, in accordance with the prevailing Jewish notions, were looking to their Messiah as a tem-

poral prince and saviour. In the third place, we cannot ourselves, nor do we believe that any careful and unbiassed reader of the Gospels will find in them the broadly marked distinctions which are here set forth. "The Christ of Matthew," it is said, "would not satisfy Mark." Yet, of the six hundred and seventy-eight verses in Mark, about five hundred, and many of them with a remarkable verbal agreement, are found in Matthew. Three hundred and eight verses from Mark, and, beside these, one hundred and twenty from Matthew, are to be found in Luke, so that very few passages remain which are peculiar to Mark. His distinguished peculiarity, so far as we have observed, is the putting in of little, incidental circumstances, which a practised writer of history would omit, but which an honest, unlettered eyewitness is likely to retain. There is, perhaps, less sharpness of outline in his narratives, but more minuteness in unimportant details, than in either of the other Evangelists. But it is the same Christ who appears before us in them all, and we cannot possibly so read the first three Gospels as to make it appear otherwise. The difference which we find in Matthew, between the Jesus who throws himself in agony on the ground at Gethsemane and the Jesus who with more than kingly majesty says to the high-priest, "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven," or the Jesus who said to his disciples, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," is far greater than the distance which separates these latter passages from the highest attributes that are assigned to him either by Paul or by John. In the first three Gospels we have mostly simple statements of facts, and reports of the sayings of Jesus. The language is purely transparent, hardly colored in any case by the peculiarity of the writer's own mind or habits of thought. The writer himself does not appear. No compositions can be more entirely objective, or place the acts and words of another before us more entirely in their own light. We can imagine Peter in his discourses repeating word for word whole chapters which we find in Mark. It is the style of easy and circumstantial narrative which he would naturally use at the time, in giving an account of what he had heard and seen. The fourth Gospel, on the contrary, is

colored throughout by the writer's own mind. The young disciple whom Jesus loved has become an aged Apostle, living in the serene atmosphere of the Divine love and the higher regions of spiritual thought, till his whole soul is steeped, and all his modes of expression are penetrated by them. The feelings with which he now looked to Jesus were not those with which he had regarded him when on earth, but those which had grown up in his mind and made a part of his daily life as he looked reverently up to him from his earthly labors and trials, or meditated on the still, unfathomed depths of meaning which lay in his words and his mission to the earth. For this reason, as well as because they had been omitted by the previous Evangelists, he dwells much on what might be called the more mystical and spiritual portions of our Saviour's life and teachings. The tone of the narrative and of the incidental remarks that accompany it is marked by his own individuality. But often when he describes events, as the healing of the blind man, the raising of Lazarus, the last supper, and the transactions on the day of the crucifixion or the morning of the resurrection, there is a circumstantial minuteness and precision which exceed any thing that is to be found in the other writers. They are the details of an eyewitness, and would give the impression, either that they had fixed themselves in the mind of the writer as extraordinary events do in the youthful mind, so that the slightest particular of act or expression can never be altered or effaced by any number of succeeding years, or that he had early in life committed them and the most remarkable and extended discourses of our Saviour to writing, and made use of these early notes in preparing his Gospel. If there ever was a composition, through all its varieties of statement, perfectly homogeneous, bearing the impress of one mind, it is the Gospel of St. John; and, taking into account the great length of his life, the cares and responsibilities which had rested upon him, the persecutions to which he had been exposed, the theological speculations which even then had begun to agitate the Church and were carried on around him, his deep religious insight and long habits of meditation on the serene and heavenly instructions of his now glorified Saviour, we can easily see how, with the same historical

being and facts before him, he should give to his Gospel the peculiar tone and coloring by which it is distinguished from the rest. Still, it is the same Jesus that we see in the other Gospels, only there seen through the perfect transparency of a fine day, and here as through the softening haze of our Indian summer. In the fourth place, the historical reasons given for assigning so late a date as A. D. 170 or 180 to the fourth Gospel are without foundation in fact. The chief reason for this late date is, that the doctrine of the Logos, as set forth in this Gospel, implies, previous to its composition, the existence of philosophical and metaphysical speculations which could not have arisen at so early a period as during the lifetime of St. John. In Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History (First Period, 36) we have the brief but decisive statement of that exact historian, that the doctrine of the Logos, borrowed from the Alexandrine Jewish philosophy, had entered into the speculations of Christians during the first century. In the elaborate fourth section of Neander's Church History, it is shown how very early those speculations, half Jewish in their origin, began to effect the views of Christians, the age of Paul being not without indications of their influence, while in the time of John they had become fully developed, Cerinthus, his contemporary, being "the intermediate link between the Judaizing and Gnostic sects." These conclusions of Gieseler and Neander are more than confirmed by the writings recently found at Mount Athos, which, whether the veritable works of Hippolytus or not, certainly belong to the early part of the second century, and show that different sects under the general name of Ophites before the end of the first century were pursuing precisely the sort of inquiries which might suggest the opening words of the fourth Gospel. Chevalier Bunsen, in his analysis of "The Refutation of all Heresies," the principal work in the newly found writings, says:—

"The Ophites all know the Logos. . . . They refer, however, not to the Logos of Philo, but to the Logos personified in man, and identified with Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Mary. The only admissible alternative, therefore, seems to me to be this. When St. John, towards the end of the first century, wrote down his evidence respecting Jesus the Christ, and placed at the head of his exposition those simple and grand words on the Logos, he either referred to sects who had abused the speculations about

the Logos as God's thought of himself, or he did not. If he did, as it seems to me impossible to doubt, he cannot have had in mind so much the philosophical followers of Philo, who abhorred the very idea of the personal union of the Logos with man, as the Christian heretics who perverted this idea in one way or another. This being the case, I maintain that he had before him the very sects which we have now become acquainted with from their own writings, the very titles of which we did not know hitherto. At all events, then, what the Apostle says is not the Christian and popular expression of a speculative system of Valentinianism, but the simple statement of the fact, that the Logos is neither an abstract notion, nor an angel, nor an æon (if that word existed as a term), but that he is one with the Man Jesus, the Christ. That this reasoning is sound, the progress of our researches will easily prove. For even in the second stage of Gnosticism, the Gentile one, we find the very words of St. John evidently alluded to, long before the last quarter or third of the second century, when, according to the most unhappy of all philological conjectures, and the most untrue of all historical views, the system of Strauss and Baur, that Gospel made its appearance as the fag-end of Gnosticism." — Vol. I. pp. 41, 42.

This strikes at the root of one important class of reasonings by which the Tübingen critics would prove the late origin of the Gospel of John. But the evidence against their hypothesis does not end here. In another part of the same work, namely, in the account given of Basilides, there is a union of direct testimony and of indirect statement, which furnishes a perfect confutation of the argument resting on so unsubstantial a basis of general reasoning and historical fact. For Basilides, in extracts from his writings preserved in the work on "All Heresies," "not only," as Bunsen says,* "quotes (besides Luke's second chapter) the Gospel of St. John; it is also evident that his whole metaphysical development is an attempt to connect a cosmogonic system with St. John's prologue, and with the person of Christ. Now these extracts are undoubtedly older than Heracleon's commentary on St. John (which itself is already incompatible with Strauss's and Baur's hypothesis about the origin of the fourth Gospel), and belong to the time between 120 and 130." †

* Vol. I. pp. 87, 88.

† We attach no great value to the quotation alleged to be made by Basilides from the fourth Gospel; for we do not think it is needed in this part of the discussion. This branch of the argument for the late origin of the

The theory which we now have under consideration is sustained by the hypothesis that the Gospels grew out of the controversies, speculations, and prevalent sentiments among Christians during the first two centuries. Now we believe that precisely the opposite of all this is the fact; that with the exception of the Logos of St. John, which refers to speculations that began earlier than Christianity and which had a great influence on certain classes of Christians before the close of the first century, these writings are remarkably free from the theological and ecclesiastical bias of the times. They come down through the excited and turbulent controversies of those ages, as if utterly unconscious of what was going on around them, lending their support neither to this

Gospel is wholly overthrown without any such explicit testimony. The argument rests on the fact of the non-existence of certain speculations till after the middle of the second century, which speculations, it is proved both by extracts from Hippolytus and from sources of information before accessible to historians, did prevail among Christian sects before the close of the first century. As a matter of some curiosity, however, we would spend a little time in examining the quotation alleged to be made by Basilides. We give the passage as we find it in the Westminster Review for April, 1853, American ed., p. 298.

“καὶ δίδουκε τὰς κατὰ προβολὴν τῶν γεγονότων οὐσίας ὁ Βασιλείδης . . . ἀλλὰ εἶπε, φησί, καὶ ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι, τὸ λεχθὲν ὑπὸ Μωσέως, ‘Γενηθήτω φῶς. καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς.’ Πόθεν, φησί, γέγονε τὸ φῶς; . . . Γέγονε, φησὶν, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ κόσμου, ὃ λόγος ὁ λεχθεὶς γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἔστι τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις. ‘Ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα τὸν ὄντα ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον.’ — p. 232.”

The Westminster Review denies that the singular verb here, which grammatically agrees with Basilides and with nothing else, is any evidence that Basilides is really the subject of the verb φησί, because, it says, the writer (Hippolytus) sometimes uses a singular verb with plural subject expressed, and sometimes a plural verb with singular subject expressed. As an example of the former, the following passage is given: —

“Ἰδωμεν οὖν πῶς καταφανῶς Βασιλείδης ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἰσιδώρος καὶ πᾶς ὁ τούτων χορὸς, οὐχ ἀπλῶς καταψεύδεται μόνου Μιτθαίου, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ Σωτήρος αὐτοῦ. ‘Ἦν, φησὶν, ὅτε ἦν οὐδέν, κ. τ. λ. — p. 230.”

This, instead of being an instance of bad grammar, is perfectly in accordance with what we find in classical Greek, and is *not*, in the grammatical sense, an instance of a singular verb with a plural subject. When there are two or more subjects connected together, and each subject is considered separately and by itself, or when one of the subjects is to be represented as more prominent than the others, the predicate is confined to one of the subjects, and agrees with it. “οἱ πένητες καὶ ὁ δῆμος πλεον ἔχει. Xen.” Kühner, 242, b. Grammatically, therefore, so far as this example is concerned, there can be no doubt that the quotation from John is here attributed to Basilides. It is possible, however, that the leader of a sect may have been named for the sect itself, though the connection does not favor that supposition.

party nor to that, borrowing nothing from them; and in their simplicity, the calmness of their tone, the depth of their wisdom, the unruffled spirit which runs through them and marks all their words, they are just what we should expect them to be, if they had been prepared, as we suppose they were, by the primitive disciples of a being such as they describe, or their companions. We have just been turning over the pages of a book, not yet published, and which therefore we have no right to mention by name, a book evidently prepared with the most scrupulous thoroughness and exactness, taken mostly from the original authorities, in regard to a doctrine which, the author says, is found to pervade all the Christian writings that we have subsequent to the books of the New Testament; and yet this doctrine respecting "Christ's mission to the under-world," which powerfully affected the earliest Christian literature that we have, and which so early found its way into the formulas of the Church, has, he says, left no trace of itself on any one of the Gospels, as it inevitably must have done, if they had been, as our modern critics represent them to be, not veritable historical documents of the first generation, but the speculative and ideal writings of a later period. The argument on this point, as stated in the work before us, is a striking one, and might, as the author intimates, with equal force be drawn, by the same method of treatment, from other speculations which at that time greatly interested the Christian mind, but of which no trace is left in the Gospels.

This train of argument, not only in its bearing on the unsubstantial theories now under examination, but in its relation to the whole subject before us, is one entitled to great consideration. The Gospels, as we now have them, could not have been the growth of any age since the first century, for they are not marked by any one of the characteristics of any subsequent age. An attempt, indeed, has been made to show in the fourth Gospel marks of the Docetic doctrines of the second century. "The Logos," it is said, (*Christian Examiner* for January, 1852, pp. 24, 25,) "assumes a body as the historical Jesus. But this body makes no essential part of the person. . . . This is nowhere asserted, but it is many times implied. There are singular apparitions and hidings, which can be accounted for on no other supposition. The histori-

cal vanishes into the *Docetic*." Then, as instances, are given John vii. 10, 15, 20, viii. 59, x. 39, and xii. 36. We quote each of these passages in as literal a translation as we can give. Ch. vii. 10: "Then Jesus went up to the feast, not openly, but as *in secret*." The meaning plainly enough is, that he did not go with the caravan, but by himself, privately. Ch. vii. 15-20 is adduced to show that, when Jesus appeared at Jerusalem, those who had seen him repeatedly did not know him. The very reverse is the obvious inference from the language used: "About the middle of the feast, Jesus came up to the temple and taught. And the Jews wondered, saying, How doth this man know letters, not having learned?" If they did not know who he was, how could they say that he had "never learned"? Ch. viii. 59: "They took up stones to cast at him. But Jesus was concealed, and went out of the temple." In the midst of the excited tumultuous crowd he was hid (not hid himself) from them, and went out of the temple. The passage is not so strong as in Luke iv. 28, 29, where, as his enemies were about to throw him from the brow of the hill at Nazareth, "he, *passing through the midst of them*, went away"; or where he appeared, without being recognized, to two disciples going to Emmaus; but Luke is not suspected of any tendency to such a doctrine. Ch. x. 39 must be a misquotation. It is, "And she had a sister named Martha, who also sat at Jesus's feet and heard his word." Ch. xii. 36: "These things spake Jesus, and, going away, he was hid from them." There is nothing here like the coming and vanishing of an apparition. We have quoted every one of these passages to show on how slender a basis of fact these new theories are made to rest. That the fourth Gospel represents Jesus with an apparent and not a real body of flesh and blood, is not proved by a single passage, but it is inconsistent with the whole scope of the Gospel, and flatly contradicted more than once. In talking with the woman of Samaria in the heat of noon, Jesus sat by the well, "being wearied with his journey." If the writer would represent him without a real body, how could he say that he was "wearied with his journey"? But a more decisive passage still is xx. 27, where he tells Thomas to thrust his hand into his side and examine for himself. How could this be, if he had not a real body?

We have omitted to notice in the Tübingen hypotheses an extraordinary inconsistency, which, if it be not a mistake, and we do not see how it can be, must be fatal to the whole system. Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians are admitted by these writers as undoubtedly genuine, and therefore as belonging to a period not later than from 60 to 75; yet they are represented as a great advance upon the first and third Gospels, and therefore subsequent to them in point of time. But (*Christian Examiner* for Sept., 1851, p. 170), according to these same Tübingen critics, the Gospel according to the Hebrews "was exclusively used by the Ebionite Christians till the middle of the second century, after which period it fell into disrepute, as containing the opinion of heretics. While it flourished, we have no certain proof that any other Gospels existed; on their appearance, it slowly retired from view." That is, the Gospels did not make their appearance till about the year 150; but the Epistles, which indicate a great advance on their speculations and which therefore must have been subsequent to them, are undoubtedly genuine, and therefore could not have been later than the third quarter of the first century. This is one of the chronological absurdities by which these new theories are hopelessly embarrassed.

We come now to the only remaining hypothesis that we propose to consider. It is this, — that with the exception of the fourth Gospel, which was undoubtedly the product of a single person, and that the Apostle John, the Gospels were not the products of individual minds, but grew up, under the general oversight of different Christian communities, by the incorporation from time to time of such new facts and historical documents as might come to their knowledge. This hypothesis does not directly impeach their veracity or their general accuracy, but only their genuineness. This, we suppose, is substantially the view taken by Schleiermacher, and perhaps by Neander and his school. Its attitude towards the Gospels is a reverent one. It admits the Christian miracles, and looks upon the Christian records, not as mythical, but as historical documents. We have not been able to turn to any one work in which the reasons for this hypothesis are clearly set forth. A general statement of the theory and of the arguments in its support may be

found in the first article of the *Christian Examiner* for May, 1853, to which we shall refer several times in the course of our remarks.

We have stated our reasons for believing in the genuineness of the Gospels. How is the force of that reasoning set aside by the supporters of this hypothesis? Not by historical testimony; for not a word from any author of the first three centuries is adduced against it. What evidence, then, is there, that the first three Gospels were not drawn up, each by a single writer, but "came into existence by a conglomeration of testimonies around certain narratives of individual authority, which formed their nuclei"?* Generally, when a book comes to us bearing the name of an author, especially when we can trace it back, as we do these writings, with the same name attached to it always from the earliest ages, we take it for granted that the title is a true one, unless there is something in the book itself or in external historical testimony to cast suspicion upon it. The usual way of preparing short narratives like these is, and from the time whereof the memory of man knoweth not to the contrary has been, for some one responsible man to do the work. So universal has this practice been, and so extremely rare are the exceptions, that, without some decided evidence to the contrary, we take it for granted, and have a right to take it for granted, in any particular case, that the book is really the work of him to whom it has always been ascribed. What, then, is the evidence in this case that should lead us to depart from the usual course? It is drawn, as far as we can see, from the writings themselves and from the circumstances of the case. We have seldom, however, found it more difficult to see the precise force of any reasoning.

"So long," it is said,† "as any persons were alive who could give authentic testimony of Christ, it is not reasonable to suppose that Christians would refusé to receive such testimony; and receiving it, they would naturally incorporate it with such narratives as they already had, if they had any." This is very true, but these conditions are met by what we suppose to have been the facts in the case, that the Gospels were prepared one after another, each by a single author, and each, after the first, con-

* *Christian Examiner* for May, 1853, p. 363.

† *Ibid.* p. 363.

taining some of the materials already employed, and adding what further of importance was known to the writer.

But the principal evidence for the *accretion* theory is said to come from the character of the books, which, we are told,* "is such as, when carefully examined, and indeed in some measure on a cursory perusal, to show that they are digested collectanea, and that the hands which digested them were not hands of Apostles." Of course, all carefully prepared books of history and biography, when they pass beyond what the writer has himself seen, are "digested collectanea," and in this particular instance nobody claims that "the hands which digested" two of the three books were "hands of Apostles." But if it be meant to assert, that either of these Gospels, from a comparison of its separate parts among themselves, or that all three of the Gospels, by a comparison with one another, show that each was the work of more hands than one, then we must express our dissent, and say that we can find in them no such indications. On the contrary, in Mr. Smith's "*Dissertation on the Gospels*," where the corresponding passages of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and the corresponding passages of Matthew and Luke, are placed side by side and critically compared, we find the evidence greatly preponderating towards another theory, and opposed to that which we had been accustomed to hold on the subject. There is, as Mr. Smith has shown, internal evidence, not indeed of the strongest kind, but decidedly going to confirm the intimations given by Papias, Irenæus, and Tertullian; that the second Gospel was either written in substance by Peter in Hebrew, and translated by Mark, with slight additions of his own, or, as seems to us more probable, written down by Mark from the lips of Peter in the Hebrew of that day, and afterwards translated by him, with slight additions and explanations, into Greek, and then, though these points are more obscurely made out, that Matthew, in preparing his Gospel, made use of Mark in Hebrew, and that Luke, in addition to other original and published materials within his reach, had access to Mark's Gospel in Hebrew and to Matthew's in Greek. The variations in language,

* Ibid. p. 366.

when obviously the same account from the same author is given, are such as might obviously be made in two independent translations of the same words, with such abbreviations, explanations, additions, or changes in the arrangement of words and incidents, as two writers, having other sources of information at hand, and different objects in view, would be likely to make under such circumstances. The influence of Peter in the second Gospel is shown by local and personal references and allusions, and by a peculiar minuteness in unimportant details, of which numerous examples are pointed out, but which must be examined, each in its place and in the original language, in order that their full force may be perceived. In the first Gospel, the marks of authorship are perhaps quite as distinct, while the hand of a more practised writer is indicated in the third Gospel, not only by a more easy and graceful use of language, but by greater precision and skill in the arrangement of topics and of subordinate incidents. We have no room to present the argument in detail, but must content ourselves with referring to the work itself.

But how can we account for such different reports of the Saviour's words, and such different statements of facts, as we find in the different Gospels, if they had been written by Apostles and their companions? Here is a tangible point, and we only regret that we find so few instances specified under it, though the length of the article to which we refer would hardly allow any extended reasoning. We shall, however, under the different heads which follow, bring up what seem to us the strongest cases of inconsistency that we know of in the Gospels. In order that apparent discrepancies should have any weight in deciding the question before us, it must, in the first place, be certain that they *are* contradictions, and, secondly, such contradictions as honest writers in what is supposed to have been their position could not have made. For example, the different accounts of the opening words of the Sermon on the Mount, Matt. v. 3, "Blessed the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," and Luke vi. 20, "Blessed the poor, for yours is the kingdom of God," are not contradictory, but only show such variations as we should expect, especially when we remember that neither of the Evangelists gives the Saviour's words in the language

which he spoke. Again, if Matthew and Mark represent Jesus as healing the blind when he was leaving Jericho, and Luke as he was approaching it, there is undoubtedly a contradiction, but in a matter so unimportant that it casts no imputation on the veracity or the substantial accuracy of the writers. The inconsistency has been explained by the attempt to show that the word in Luke xviii. 35 rendered "was come nigh" means also "was nigh," so that the passage may read, "while he was yet nigh." On the other hand, if the first three Evangelists assert, as they unquestionably do, that Jesus and his disciples ate the paschal supper the evening before the crucifixion, and John in his Gospel, as some suppose, asserts that the supper which they ate on that evening was not the passover, and that the time for eating the paschal supper did not come till the following evening, then here is a palpable contradiction, and on a subject so obvious and so important, that it could not well have been made by the men who are supposed to have written the Gospels. But does John make any such assertion as is here ascribed to him? In his account of the Last Supper, it is plain that he does not. His Gospel is supplementary to the others. It is so here, and as they have described this as the paschal supper, he does not mention a single circumstance inconsistent with that, but rather in a manner which implies it, confines himself to other exceedingly instructive and interesting particulars. But does he not afterwards say, that the feast of the passover was not eaten till the following evening? For, in his account of the transactions of the next morning, he says, xviii. 28, "They themselves went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the passover." Again, xix. 14, "And it was the preparation of the passover." The whole controversy turns on the meaning of the word *πάσχα*, which is here rendered passover, but which sometimes means *the paschal lamb* (Mark xiv. 12, Luke xxii. 7); sometimes *the paschal supper* (Matt. xxvi. 19); and sometimes, *the whole paschal festival*, or feast of unleavened bread, which began with the paschal supper and continued seven days (Luke xxii. 1, "the feast of unleavened bread, which is called the passover"). Hence the feast on any one of those days might be called *τὸ πάσχα*, or "the passover feast"; and as the Sabbath after the

crucifixion, beginning Friday evening, was a high festival day, even though the paschal lamb had been eaten the evening before, the Jews would be unwilling to disqualify themselves for partaking of the feast, and a writer might say with propriety, as John does, "it was the preparation of the paschal feast," or "that they might eat the paschal feast."* Dr. Robinson's conclusion is, that, "upon all grounds, both of philology and history, the conclusion is valid and irrefragable, that the testimony of John in respect to the passover need not be, and is not to be, understood as conflicting with that of Matthew, Mark, and Luke."

Without attempting to cover the whole subject, which would be plainly out of the question in an article like this, we propose, for the sake of something like order, to consider several of the strongest cases under each of several different heads.

1. In treating of complex matters or events, statements apparently directly opposed to each other do not always or necessarily involve a contradiction. Eyewitnesses very often take a part for the whole, sometimes one part and sometimes another. A very homely illustration of this recently came within our notice. A person being asked where he procured his tea, replied, "From A. B." A day or two afterwards, he was asked the same question again, and replied, "From C. D." "Here," our critics would exclaim, "is a palpable contradiction. Either the man is dishonest, or there is an interpolation by another hand." By no means. The tea referred to was composed of two kinds, the one being used in very small quantities, to give a peculiar flavor to the other. In the first instance, the question was so put as to call up the thought only of that which was the principal ingredient, while, in the second case, particular reference was made to the flavor, and the thought only of that which was used to give the flavor occurred to the speaker. Such cases of apparent contradiction and inconsistency are constantly coming up in common life, and, unless we have the key to them, or are very charitable in our judgments, we are likely to do great injustice to honest, and, upon the whole, correct narrators of facts. In Mark v. 2, for instance, we read, "A man

* See Robinson's *Greek Harmony of the Gospels*. pp. 212-223, and a more extended article on the same subject in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for Aug. 1845

with an unclean spirit" met Jesus. Matthew viii. 28, referring to the same event, says, "There met him two possessed with devils." In mentioning the cure of the blind near Jericho, Mark speaks of only one, but Matthew says, "Behold, two met him." Probably in each case one of the men took the lead, and Mark, writing what Peter, who had been impressed by his conduct and appearance, told him, spoke only of this one, while Matthew, whose office as a tax-gatherer must have been favorable to habits of numerical exactness, gives the full and precise number. Another instance of this exactness in Matthew occurs, xiv. 21, in the account of the feeding of the multitudes. The other Evangelists say, there were about five thousand men; Matthew alone adds, "besides women and children." Matthew v. 1 says, that Jesus "went up into a mountain, and when he was set, his disciples came unto him," and then he delivered the Sermon on the Mount. Luke vi. 12 *et seq.* says, that he continued all night in the mountain praying, and in the morning called his disciples to him, and then came down with them, and, standing on a *level spot* (τόπου πεδινού), there delivered the same discourse. The apparent contradiction here arises from Matthew speaking of the mountain in general, and Luke designating the particular spot on the mountain where he stood. We give these only as examples of apparent contradictions, which will always be numerous in detailed and independent accounts of complicated events.

2. There may be apparent contradictions growing out of our ignorance of the circumstances, habits, different modes of reckoning time, distance, &c., belonging to the age when the accounts were written. It will not unfrequently happen, that writers in a remote age and country, speaking of what is going on around them, will, from their very familiarity with their subject and all its adjuncts, be obscure, and apparently inconsistent in some of their details. We are too ignorant to understand matters with which they were too familiar to see the necessity of giving any explanation of them. The different aspects of the paschal supper may come under this head. We may be ignorant of the different modes of fixing the time which were used by different persons or sects.

3. From the nature of our Saviour's instructions and

the obstinacy of the prejudices by which his doctrines were met, from the slowness of apprehension on the part of his disciples and the entirely different audiences that he addressed at different times, as well as from the similar exigencies that must have arisen on different occasions, we should expect that during his ministry the same instructions would be repeated, sometimes more than once, in the same words, or with modifications adapted to the new connection in which they were introduced, or to the varied condition and wants of the hearers. Different writers, or the same writer in different parts of his narrative, will, then, of course, assign them to different occasions, and report them with variations. For example, considerable portions of the instructions contained in the Sermon on the Mount may have been repeated on other occasions. Matthew may have recorded the entire discourse as it was first given, and Luke, in his report, may have omitted those portions which he was afterwards to give in different connections. See, in chapters xi., xii., and xvi. of Luke, different portions of what Matthew has comprised in one discourse, as they were afterwards repeated by our Saviour, sometimes with and sometimes without variations.

4. Facts, also, similar in character, but different in some particulars, would occur at different times, and, if faithfully recorded, would subject the writers to the charge of contradictions and mistakes. It has been argued, that Matthew never could have written the first Gospel, because he never could have described as two events the miraculous feeding of the multitudes, which, it is asserted, could have occurred only once. The place, the circumstances that precede and follow, it is said, are so much alike, that they plainly point to a single event, which is here multiplied into two in the traditions of a later age. But when we consider the multitudes that thronged our Saviour on both sides of the lake, and that the east side particularly was a desert place, at a distance from villages where food could be procured for such a concourse of people, it would not have been strange, if more than once towards the close of the day he should have had compassion on the weary multitudes, and fed them by his miraculous power lest they should hunger and faint by the way.*

* See Neander's *Life of Jesus*, American translation, 1848, pp. 263, 264.

This probable repetition of similar events and words is a matter of great importance in the treatment of the subject before us. A few points of resemblance in different narratives, when we find them in different Gospels, are seized upon as proofs that they relate to the same discourse or event, all dissent from such a conclusion is scoffed at as the remnant of an old superstition, and thus the discrepancies in the accounts, which plainly point to two different transactions, are held up as evidence of a want of genuineness and of accuracy in the records. No small part of Strauss's book is made up in this way, and something of the same disposition marks some of the attempts which have been made to establish the very different theory that we now have under consideration. Suppose that Napoleon's history, placed back two thousand years, were known to us only by three or four narratives; as brief as our Gospels; that in one we should read, that after his great conquests he was banished to an island, but succeeded in getting back again to his kingdom and enlisting powerful armies; and then it should say, that he was banished to an island and there died in exile. Suppose that the other writers should omit altogether the first banishment, and speak only of the last and fatal confinement. Here, from the similarity and extraordinary character of the facts, would be evidence beyond all doubt that the first writer had made a mistake in making two transactions out of one and the same event. This is the sort of reasoning from the internal character of writings, which has been so lauded in our day, but which is as illogical in its methods as it is unhappy in its results.

In judging of the Gospels, we must remember that they were written, or at least have come down to us, in a language different from that which was spoken by Jesus, and that, in transferring his words from one language to another so different in its idioms, there is room for much diversity of style, even where the sentiment is not affected. Verbal differences, which from this source alone must be considerable, should not be pressed rashly into the controversy. Nor must we allow ourselves to judge of these writings on any other than the grounds which they themselves assume. It is stated that the third Gospel must have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem, because the writer refers to that event.

But if we admit that Jesus was gifted with the power of prophecy, and predicted that event, the argument falls to the ground at once.

We here leave this branch of the subject, feeling, as our readers probably will also feel, that, in our treatment of it, we have been as one beating the air; but this has arisen from the want of definite propositions to meet. The only recent account of this hypothesis that has fallen within our notice, though admirable in spirit and bearing unmistakable marks of liberal thought and scholarship, deals so much in large assertions without proof, and so little in distinct statements of argument, that it is hardly possible to meet its objections except by general, and, to some extent, indefinite statements and reasonings. The subject is one which, except in its general principles and bearings, can be satisfactorily treated only by a minute and extended examination of particular instances to be found in the Gospels. We believe that Biblical critics have been altogether more ready to recognize, than to deny, the existence of discrepancies in the Gospel narratives, on narrow and insufficient grounds, and that, if they would bring to their minute studies more generous and comprehensive principles of investigation, such as men of the noblest thought and culture are accustomed to apply in other departments of history and science, their labors would be rewarded by richer and more abundant fruits. Minute accuracy in the details of study, and the power of arranging and applying those details according to the most liberal and comprehensive principles of thought which the subject admits, form the union of rare gifts, which alone, in theological as in all other great departments of human inquiry, can lead to the highest and best results.

For ourselves, after the best attention that we can give to the subject, we see no good reason for the theory of *gradual accretion*, as applied to the Gospels. It is contrary to the way in which books are usually made; it is opposed to the early and uniform testimony on this subject for centuries, and there is nothing that we can see, in the internal character and structure of the Gospels, that points to such a formation. The Gospel of Luke might possibly admit of such an hypothesis if it had no preface and there were strong external evidence in its favor; but it gives no indication of having gone through such a formative process,

and has an air of individuality about it, which, to some extent at least, marks it as the work of an individual mind. The Gospel of Mark, as we have already stated, has its characteristics, which, in accordance with the external testimony of Papias and others, show it to have been in some way connected with the Apostle Peter. But the Gospel of Matthew, hardly less than that of John, seems to us to bear upon itself the marks of its authorship, at least so far as to prove it to be substantially the work of a single mind. There is an almost epic unity of progress in the narrative and the images and emotions that gather round it. This, indeed, may be attributed to the subject, but it is hardly consistent with the supposition that it was made up of traditional or historical fragments from time to time by different hands. Any one who has had experience in the preparation of a memoir will understand the difficulties in the way of such a process. Nothing can be more simple, inartificial, and truth-like than the style, and we have never been able to read the Gospel through, as a rapid and connected biography, without a sense of the harmony of the parts, the natural and onward flow of the narrative, rising in grandeur, deepening in solemn and pathetic interest, the images becoming more impressive and imposing, as we approach the end through the wonderful succession of thoughts and events which gather so fittingly round the life, death, and resurrection of the wonderful being whose history is here disclosed. All point, not only to Christ as a veritable historical personage, who actually had his walk among men, but also to some one man who knew him, and who, from what he himself saw and heard, and from what he gathered in other ways, drew up this sketch of his ministry.

We are content, then, to rest on the old foundation of four distinct accounts of Jesus, prepared by Apostles and companions of Apostles, with variations in statements and in style, showing their separate independence and individuality, and all together, in connection with unquestioned and enduring historical monuments, furnishing chains of evidence as strong, as various, as authentic, and compact, as the nature of the subject and those distant ages, could admit.

During the preparation of this article, we had heard, from week to week, of the failing strength and gradual passing away of the thorough scholar, the discriminating thinker, the able and accomplished writer, whose work on this subject, prepared with such scrupulous exactness and such an infinite patience of labor in uninviting fields of ancient and modern learning, must always hold its place as a monument of enlightened industry and thought. As its author foresaw from the beginning, it can never be extensively popular. It is so nice in its distinctions, so severe in its logic, so precise in its statements of fact and its reasonings upon them, that it can never be read understandingly, without the closest attention kept up through every part; and those who read in this way will always be few. It never appeals to popular feelings. It crosses the prejudices of the learned and unlearned, of believers and unbelievers, as calmly as if they had no existence. Hence, in widely different quarters, insinuations of narrowness and bigotry, or of infidelity and radicalism, have been called in to create a popular sentiment against it, and to undermine its authority. In style, it is unimpassioned and severe, without fluency or fervor, and never indulging in the bursts of heated declamation, which give an ephemeral currency to so many of the essays and more extended treatises that are poured out upon us. It is the still, small voice of learning and of reason, issuing from amid a chaos of discordant sounds, with its few decisive words, in which all that is valuable in ancient or modern writings is separated from the superincumbent mass, its precise relation to the case in hand pointed out, and the whole arranged and compacted into one great and powerful argument.

In preparing for this article, with something of that sense of solemn responsibility which must press on every one who takes upon himself the office, never lightly to be assumed, of a public defender of our faith, we have examined Mr. Norton's work anew, and, after going to other treatises, or looking as far as we could into original sources of historical evidence, we have returned to it with an increased feeling of security and respect, as containing, in the most condensed and accessible form, all the learning that is needed in order to weigh understandingly the historical evidences of our religion. No one

topic, which has a legitimate and important bearing on the subject, is omitted or superficially treated; and, under one head or another, among its orderly pages, materials are furnished with which to enforce every important argument, and to meet every serious objection, that can be brought up.

It is time for scholars to learn that their contributions to the cause of knowledge are not to be estimated by the quantity of gross materials which they accumulate, though this kind of labor has also its value. He does the greatest service as a scholar in any province of inquiry, who separates all the gold from the worthless rubbish in which it had been imbedded, and brings it within our reach. Judged by this rule, no scholar has done more in his own chosen department than Mr. Norton. Of his personal and domestic virtues, of his character as a warm and devoted friend which so endeared him to the few who were admitted to his confidence, of his personal influence and authority as a teacher, of his gifts of poetic thought and expression, of his large acquisitions and exquisite taste in various departments of literature, of his earnest and (so far as is possible with a man of his retired habits) active interest in whatever belongs to the physical and moral well-being of the depressed and suffering classes, of his profound and unshaken faith and the fervent devotion that sprang from it, of which we have a beautiful expression in the hymn which has so often brought tears to the eyes and comfort to the hearts of the sorrowing and dying,—of these and kindred qualities, which did so much to enlarge the boundaries of his happiness and to extend the sphere of his usefulness, fitting notice has been taken in the pages of this journal, by one who has a right to speak on these subjects. We have been permitted to know of them hardly at all, except through his published writings or the reports of others. To us his form comes up, not as that of a personal friend or teacher, but as of one bowed down by the weight of laborious days and many thoughts, from his familiarity with the progress of opinion seeing the end from afar, and looking not always hopefully into the future as he raised his warning voice against the insidious speculations of the day; living apart from the world, having little sympathy from abroad and much to

oppose and discourage him, with no hope of earthly reward or success, but none the less earnestly applying himself to his work, bringing to it the ripened fruits of his rich and various culture, seeking out every new source of knowledge that might promise to throw light upon it, and so toiling on with unabated interest and fidelity, till his declining strength gave out, and God called him to rest from his labors. At the close of a work written twenty years before, he says: "I have been writing, as it were, on the tombstones of those who were most dear to me, with feelings of the character, purposes, and duties of life, which my own death-bed will not strengthen." And such, we doubt not, were his feelings, in the last serene autumnal days before his change came, when the scenes of his past life, and especially the great work of his life, rose before him to be reviewed in the light of that world on whose borders he then stood.

J. H. M.

ART. IV.—DR. JUDSON'S LIFE AND LABORS.*

DR. JUDSON needs no introduction to any portion of the Christian world. He needs no praise at our hands. Yet he has not always received praise, or perhaps full justice, from our household of faith. The reproach may not belong to us alone, — for when the first missionaries left our shores for the other side of the globe, they were regarded as visionaries by some of every name, — but we cannot recall without sorrow and shame the taunts thrown at them and their devoted wives, in some of the best circles and most popular prints of Boston. And this, not only in 1813, when the work was begun, but as late as 1822, when the first Mrs. Judson, as true and noble a woman as ever lived, came home for the restoration of her failing health. Welcomed and honored as she was by thousands of her own faith, and many of other names, there were remarks and insinuations from some respectable quarters, such as are seldom heard now

* *A Memoir of the Life and Labors of the REV. ADONIRAM JUDSON, D.D.* By FRANCIS WAYLAND, President of Brown University. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1853. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 644 and 522.

in any similar connection. It is a fact honorable alike to the friends of missions and to those once unfriendly, that the enterprise has been raised above suspicion, and all disposition to oppose or ridicule it has long since ceased.

A new interest will be awakened, if there be not a new impulse given to the cause of missions, by this most acceptable Memoir. The life of such a man as Judson, drawn out by such a pen as Wayland's, will be sure to find readers by thousands, among all sects and classes, on both sides of the ocean, in the far-off isles, and in every region, Christian or heathen, where the heralds of the Gospel have gone. We doubt not it will soon be translated into other tongues, and be written and read in the very language to whose acquisition the youthful Judson devoted the first years of his laborious mission. We love to think of his own converts, or their children, reading with delight the truthful narrative of those "small beginnings," to which they owe, under God, their present new existence. Few men have sown the seed on earth with a more diligent hand or a more patient faith; few can look down from heaven on a wider field or a richer harvest.

Dr. Wayland seems to us to have executed his task in the most simple, yet faithful manner. It was not so easy a task as he supposed when he undertook it, which he did at the request of the Executive Committee of the American Baptist Missionary Union, and also of the widow of Dr. Judson. Many of the materials which he expected to use, it was found, had been destroyed, either purposely or accidentally; so that the biographer was compelled to rely more than he wished on the official correspondence, much of which had already appeared in print. This fact may lessen the interest of the work, as we are told it does, to those who have been constant readers of the *Missionary Magazine*, and who are also familiar with Mr. Knowles's *Life of the first Mrs. Judson*, as well as previous notices of Dr. Judson himself. Yet we suppose this to be much the most complete and reliable account yet given of an important mission, while the circumstances just referred to have probably induced the biographer to enlarge more than he otherwise would have done, on some difficult questions. And in these original portions of the work, though not always able to

adopt the writer's views, we have been struck with the temper of impartiality and the desire of entire fidelity everywhere seen.

We have no means of knowing how familiar our readers may be with the facts of Dr. Judson's life; but we have reason to believe that they will be new to many, and acceptable to all, in this fresh form. In this journal, so far as we remember, there has been no delineation of the man or his labors; and we proceed to give a succinct account of both.

Adoniram Judson was made for the work that he undertook. It is not often, in the history of man, that one can be so sure of a connection and entire agreement between the design of Providence and the actual result. The son of a clergyman of marked integrity and stern consistency of character, these traits appeared early in the child, together with a quick intellect, a passion for learning, and an indomitable perseverance, with quite enough of ambition. When but three years old, his mother taught him to read, during the absence of the father on a short journey; and so rapidly did the boy learn, that he repeated a whole chapter of the Bible to his father on his return,—an experiment which he had the good sense not to recommend, when he became a parent. In 1804, then sixteen, he entered Brown University a year in advance, and graduated with the first honors, of which he informed his father thus briefly, in a state of rapturous satisfaction: "Dear father, I have got it. Your affectionatè son, A. J.,"—and then took a circuitous route to the post-office, to regain his composure before meeting his classmates and his rival friend. His ambition, strong enough naturally, had been fanned and flattered by a fond father, who used to say to him, "You are a very acute boy, Adoniram, and I expect you to become a great man." A great man he resolved to become; but of what stamp the greatness should be, was long a hard question with him. The love of fame and the love of excellence struggled for the mastery. And during the struggle, after leaving college and keeping school for a time in Plymouth, where his parents then resided, he became unsettled in mind, and even infidel, through the influence of a fascinating associate, and the prevalence of what was called "French infidelity."

He roamed over New England and into the State of New York, apparently from motives of curiosity and some vague ambitious or literary projects; allowing himself at one time to pass by the name of "Johnson," and attaching himself to a theatrical company in New York, from a mere love of adventure and a desire of seeing and learning every thing.

This state of mind could not last long, in a nature like his. Before starting on this tour, he had frankly disclosed his infidel sentiments to his parents; and the stern rebuke of his father, but much more the tears and prayers of his mother, followed him everywhere, until, aided by the frightful death of his unbelieving friend, they brought him home, subdued and troubled, though not yet convinced. At this time, Dr. Griffin and Professor Stuart, happening to visit his father, saw enough of his religious tendency to urge his joining the Theological Seminary at Andover, with which they were then both connected. He hesitated, and engaged himself as a teacher in Boston, but very soon relinquished the place, and in October, 1808, went to Andover, entering the school as a special student, not a member in full, because not a religious professor. Indeed, he still clung to some of his deistical opinions. His mind did not easily yield to the evidences of revealed religion; a fact which his biographer ascribes, in common with all cases of apparent "inability" to be convinced, to "a deeply seated dislike of the humbling doctrines of the cross." Without going into discussion, we submit that it is hardly safe to apply such a rule universally, or to draw the inference confidently in any case of which we have not special knowledge. Observation does not show us, either that infidelity is a repugnance to particular doctrines, or that humility is always the fruit of those doctrines. That perversity of our nature, or depravity if you please, to which so much is imputed and with so much reason, may deceive men under any form of faith, and engender pride in the very confidence of its absence. In the case of Judson, a sufficient explanation would seem to be suggested by Dr. Wayland himself, in recording the happy change that soon followed. "In the calm retirement of Andover, guided in his studies by men the praise of whose learning and piety is in all the churches, with nothing to dis-

tract his attention from the great concerns of eternity, light gradually dawned upon his mind, and he was enabled to surrender his whole soul to Christ as his atoning Saviour." This occurred in November, 1808, and the following May he made a public profession of faith in his father's church at Plymouth.

And now came a yet greater change, affecting all his plans of life. Desiring with his whole soul to devote himself to the service of God, and the vehement enthusiasm of his nature moving him to something more than the ordinary work of the ministry, both his convictions and imaginations were taken captive by reading first Buchanan's "Star in the East," and afterward Symes's "Embassy to Ava," which, with other similar books eagerly read, and much devout reflection, conference, and prayer, led him to a fixed and unchanging purpose to live for one object, — *the conversion of the heathen*. Other calls came to him; an appointment to a tutorship in Brown University, and a request of Dr. Griffin that he would become his colleague in the Park Street Church. This last invitation his father received for him in 1810, and was very desirous that his son should accept "the largest church in Boston." "And you will be so near home," said his mother, in the family conference on the subject, before they knew of his different purpose. He saw the wishes, perhaps the ambition, of his parents, and for a moment he could not answer them; but when his sister also joined in their request, confident and happy, summoning all his resolution, he replied: "No, sister; I shall never live in Boston, I have much farther than that to go." And then, with a calm earnestness, he opened to them his whole mind, in a way that prevented all opposition, if it did not subdue regret.

By a coincidence most instructive, in whatever way explained, several young men at Williams College had come to the same conclusion as Judson, and had formed a missionary society, by whose articles of agreement they pledged themselves to be ready for any mission "when and where duty may call," for life. The most prominent of these young men, as Mills, Richards, and Rice, names familiar since, came to Andover just at this period, and were soon associated with Judson, Nott, and Newell, conferring together, and praying together, for

this one absorbing object. With the advice of the leading clergymen of that vicinity, they drew up an application to the General Association of Massachusetts, offering themselves as missionaries for life, asking to what part of the world they should go, and whether they could expect support from Christians in this country, or must commit themselves to the direction of some European society. Their appeal was regarded with deep interest, and the report and proceedings that followed led to the formation of the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," for which a previous interest had prepared the way. And one of the first acts of this Board was to resolve upon sending young Judson to England, to propose a concert and coöperation with the "London Missionary Society," it being then doubtful whether money could be obtained here for the support of separate missions.

In January, 1811, Mr. Judson sailed from Boston on this first embassy, and experienced his first trials. The ship was captured by a French frigate, and as he had no knowledge of the French language, and could not make himself known, he was placed in the hold with the common sailors, and subjected to indignities which so affected his mind, as to require all his faith and prayers to save him from depression and distrust. Landing at Bayonne, he was marched through the streets with the crew, and committed to a dark and dismal prison, where he suffered severely, but was rescued the next day by the management of an unknown friend, whom he had contrived to interest in his behalf. After spending several weeks at Bayonne and Paris, turning this troublesome delay to the best account he could, becoming acquainted with some of the officers of Napoleon's suite, and travelling through the country, as was said, in one of the Emperor's carriages, he reached London in May, 1811, and presented his credentials to the Directors of the Missionary Society. By them he was kindly received, but the conference seems not to have led to any thing definite, a union of means or measures with this country being thought impracticable; and Mr. Judson returned to America in the August following. Very soon after this, he and his associates were appointed missionaries under the direction of the American Board; assurances of sup-

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port were given, "and the way was now open for these pioneers of American missions to proceed on their errand of mercy." On the 3d of February, 1812, Mr. Judson took leave of his parents; on the 5th, he was married to Ann Hasseltine; on the 6th, he was ordained in Salem, together with Messrs. Nott, Newell, Hall, and Rice; and on the 19th of the same month, Mr. and Mrs. Judson and Mr. and Mrs. Newell embarked at Salem, in the brig *Caravan*, for Calcutta.

We have given these early facts in the life of Judson, as indicating the character of his mind, and probably less familiar to our readers than the more noted events that followed. These we shall not attempt to give in detail, but would refer to the most prominent.

One of the most important occurred on the passage out. Educated in the Congregational system, ordained and commissioned by a Congregational Board, his relations were materially changed before the missionary reached his destination. Going to a field already occupied in part by Baptist missionaries, he determined to examine more thoroughly than ever before the grounds of his own opinions as to infant baptism, or the baptism of believers only, involving a question particularly important in the conversion and instruction of heathen minds. The result of this examination, begun on the voyage and completed in Calcutta, was such as to constrain him to change his faith on that point, to regard himself as an unbaptized person, and with his wife, whom the same inquiry had brought to the same conclusion, to ask their Baptist brethren to baptize them anew, which was done soon after their arrival. The reasons for this important change, Mr. Judson gives at length in a communication to the church in Plymouth, of which he was a member. As an argument, this paper, which goes into the whole Scriptural question, does not seem to us very strong; but no one can fail to see in it the sincerity of an earnest seeker, and the conviction of a conscientious, devout believer. The perusal of every such argument leaves us more and more perplexed at the confidence of our Baptist friends; their confidence both as to the actual form of the baptisms of the New Testament (all whose circumstances are perfectly consistent with the supposition of *pouring*, as the mode then used, though of course not

certain, and no argument either way), and their confidence, in any case, as to the indispensable requirement of the form of a form. But none the less do we admire the power of that conviction, which could turn these missionaries from all their early associations, and determine them, with evidently severe struggles and at a painful sacrifice, to resign the fellowship, if not the friends, most dear to them, and also to cut themselves off from the promise of support, and enter upon a new and perilous mission, entirely alone. The letters of both Mr. Judson and his wife show the greatness of the conflict, and the unselfishness as well as strength of the principle. Still, for these very reasons, we cannot suppose that they could have any actual fears of being abandoned by friends at home, or thrown upon their own resources. The effect, as might be expected, was to kindle a new interest in America, and lead to the immediate formation of a Baptist Missionary Association, which assumed from that time the support of their new emissaries. The zeal and liberality they called forth, and continued, were worthy of the cause to which they were pledged.

The most prominent feature in the mission and character of Judson was his unflinching faith. This belonged to the man as an element of his nature. Whatever he believed, he *knew*; for he believed it on the word and promise of God, which could not fail. Strange, that all believers have not the same assurance, if it were only as simple consistency! In the man we are contemplating, it seems to have been as absolute as in any we have known, — as absolute as in Paul, when he said, “I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me.” Judson did not think that he could do all things, but he knew that all things promised and needful would be done, and must be done by the instrumentality of men. His faith was now to be tested, if any faith could be. Expelled forcibly from their first resting-place, Calcutta, by the unscrupulous, selfish policy of the East India Company, who professed to believe that the preaching of the Gospel would incite the Hindoos to rebellion, and commanded peremptorily to return to their own country, the missionaries succeeded in escaping to the Isle of France, thence to Madras, where the hostility of the “Honorable Company” pursued them, and thence to Burmah, coming to anchor at

last in the harbor of Rangoon, in July, 1813, seventeen months after leaving their native land. And now began the work of faith. A work it was with Judson, in every sense. First, in the labor of acquiring a new and difficult language, without which he could do nothing, and next, the labor, so slow and arduous as to seem almost hopeless, of making any impression upon the mass of superstition, degradation, and idolatry around him. See how strongly, yet how calmly, he speaks of it, after a trial that most men would have thought sufficient. In the absence of his wife, whose impaired health had already compelled her to sail for Madras, he thus writes : —

“ There is not an individual in the country that I can pray with, and not a single soul with whom I can have the least religious communion. I keep myself as busy as possible all day long, from sunrise till late in the evening, in reading Burman, and conversing with the natives. I have been here a year and a half, and so extremely difficult is the language, — perhaps the most difficult to a foreigner of any on the face of the earth, next to the Chinese, — that I find myself very inadequate to communicate Divine truth intelligibly. I have, in some instances, been so happy as to secure the attention, and in some degree to interest the feelings, of those who heard me ; but I am not acquainted with a single instance in which any permanent impression has been produced. No Burman has, I believe, ever felt the grace of God ; and what can a solitary, feeble individual or two expect to be the means of effecting in such a land as this, amid the triumphs of Satan, the darkness of death ? The Lord is all-powerful, wise, and good ; and this consideration alone always affords me unfailing consolation and support.”

After three years of incessant labor, having to acquire another language, the Pali, a dead tongue, but so intermingled with the Burman as to be essential, he completed a grammar of the language, pronounced by a late writer in the “ Calcutta Review ” to be superior to any work of the kind, within the writer's knowledge, “ for brevity and completeness.” This labor brought on a weakness and pain in the eyes and head, which put a stop for a time to all his literary pursuits, and reduced him to a pitiable state. Four years passed before he could say, “ I have this day been visited by the first inquirer after religion that I have ever seen in Burmah.” Two years more, and he began to hold public worship.

And then, six years from his first landing, he had the joy of seeing one native believer, and administering baptism to "the first Burman convert," in a pond whose bank was graced with an enormous image of Gaudama. He had from the first administered and shared the Lord's supper with his wife only. Now, on the 4th of July, 1819, he could record in his journal: "We have had the pleasure of sitting down, for the first time, to the Lord's table, with a converted Burman; and it was my privilege — a privilege to which I have been looking forward with desire for many years — to administer the Lord's supper in two languages."

During this protracted period of excessive toil and mere preparation, — his wife dangerously ill, his own strength more than once prostrated, and not a ray of Gospel light penetrating the thick darkness of idolatry and iniquity, — his faith never faltered. He felt as sure of ultimate success, as he did of the existence of God. And when doubts and desponding inquiries reached him from America, whither his fellow-laborer, Rice, had returned, to sustain, if possible, the missionary interest, Judson wrote to him in a tone whose heroic courage and Christian confidence have seldom been equalled, all the circumstances considered.

"If they ask again, What prospect of ultimate success is there? tell them, As much as that there is an almighty and faithful God, who will perform his promises, and no more. If this does not satisfy them, beg them to let me stay and try it, and to let you come, and to give us our *bread*; or, if they are unwilling to risk their bread on such a forlorn hope as has nothing but the WORD OF GOD to sustain it, beg of them, at least, not to prevent others from giving us our bread; and if we live some twenty or thirty years, they may hear from us again.

"The climate is good, — better than in any other part of the East. But it is a most filthy, wretched place. Missionaries must not calculate on the least comfort, but what they find in one another and their work. However, if a ship was lying in the river, ready to convey me to any part of the world I should choose, and that, too, with the entire approbation of all my Christian friends, I would prefer dying to embarking."

In eighteen years of various labor, hinderance, and suffering, the converts in all Burmah are set down as 373; of whom 260 were natives, and 113 foreigners. In

twenty one years, the *Burman Bible*, translated by that solitary laborer, was completed; and when, in January, 1834, he knelt down with the last leaf in his hand, and prayed God to forgive all the imperfections and sins which had attended the work now finished and dedicated to his glory, we do not wonder at his saying, "Thank God, I can *now* say I have attained." Yet he devoted six years more to a revision of this great work, completing the new quarto edition in 1840; twenty-seven years from the time he embarked as a missionary. And those competent to judge of this work pronounced it as perfect a translation of the Scriptures as has ever been made. This, with all other labors and trials that marked the period, and the slow progress toward the great end of the mission, deserves to be called, in no ordinary sense, a work of faith.

Another trait of the character before us, related to the last but separate, was the singleness of object in all this devotion and labor. Men of strong mind, and an enthusiastic love of accomplishment, are not apt to deny themselves all side-work or side-play. Judson did this, and did it severely, as well as consistently, throughout. We do not remember an instance of more exclusive devotion to one object. Deeply interested in literary and scientific pursuits, he would not give them any portion of his time or strength. "At one time," says his biographer, "he had found the literature of Burmah exceedingly fascinating, especially its poetry; and he had sundry pleasant visions of enriching the world of English literature from its curious stores. He fancied, indeed, that he might in this way extend an interest in that nation, and help their conversion. But not even this could blind him to the danger of leaving his direct work; and "though perfectly familiar with more than a hundred Burman tales, and able to repeat Burman poetry by the hour, he never committed a line to paper." Mrs. Judson was requested to translate the "*Life of Gandama*" into English, to be published by a literary society in Calcutta. But she saw that her husband considered it "not objectionable," only in case of her inability to do missionary work; and in entire sympathy with him, she declined the complimentary offer. So in regard to society, though noticed and caressed by the best families in

India, he religiously abstained from the tempting gratification. So in preaching, he would not give his time to English congregations, and even refused to instruct British soldiers at Maulmain, until he saw that their religious inquiries positively demanded it of him; and as soon as he could, he relinquished it for his one great work,—the enlightening and saving of *heathen* souls. In short, he allowed nothing to divert his attention, or divide his energies, even for a good end; he held no end or object as of value, compared with that to which he had dedicated his life. “As Howard, when he visited Rome, left unnoticed the impressive monuments of ancient grandeur, and spent his time wholly in dungeons and prisons, so Dr. Judson believed that he who has undertaken to deliver a nation from the thralldom of sin has objects in view more important than the researches of antiquaries or the companionship of *savans*. It were well if this exclusive devotion to substantially the same object governed the lives of ministers at home, as well as of missionaries abroad.” So writes Dr. Wayland. And if any think that his last remark requires qualification, let them ask if the tendency in the ministry to all sorts of work does not require limitation.

In all his residence in India, the scrupulous missionary made no excursions of pleasure or visits of curiosity. His first visit to Ava, the royal residence, was made for the sole purpose of petitioning the king for an act of toleration in behalf of his subjects. And this attempt is one of the few things in the mission of Judson, whose wisdom Dr. Wayland questions. He doubts whether we “can properly ask one man to permit another man to obey God.” If permission be refused, shall we then allow men to infer that they are under no obligation to obey God, or worship him? We are always glad to see such questions raised, in regard to the conflict between civil and religious obligation. Let the decision be what it may in a particular case, there is a recognition of a “higher law,”—a phrase which men may deride as much as they please; they cannot annul the law, nor put themselves beyond its jurisdiction. In the present instance, the liberty asked was not granted, and Dr. Judson returned to Rangoon, not to relinquish the object, but to prosecute it with new zeal, whatever the

consequences. And the seed thus sown, amid opposition and persecution, took the deeper root.

A new trial now began, and another characteristic appears, — the power of endurance. The health of Mrs. Judson, a true and efficient co-worker every way, failed so decidedly, that it was found necessary to give her the benefit of a passage to America. Her husband had been with her to Calcutta, but felt constrained to remain at his post now, and, beside his lone labors, suffer all the pangs of separation and uncertainty. This he endured patiently and devotedly for more than two years, when his wife returned, invigorated and hopeful, having accomplished a great deal by her presence and appeals in the United States. The joy and gratitude of such a reunion and new consecration of themselves to their arduous task, now more than ever beset with difficulty and danger, we attempt not to imagine. During the interval, Dr. Judson had been called again to Ava, as interpreter for Dr. Rice, who was summoned to court as a physician; and the little church thus left was scattered by extortions and persecutions of the government. A few rallied when their faithful teacher returned, and after toiling on for nearly a year more, he was gladdened by Mrs. Judson's arrival, with Mr. and Mrs. Wade as fresh helpers. But soon it was thought best to remove to Ava, and attempt to form a missionary station at the seat of power, under auspices at present very encouraging. They obtained a lot for building, and began public worship and a school. But soon the war broke out between the Burman government and the English in Bengal, all foreigners became suspected, and Americans were confounded with the English; and as the forces of the latter, having taken possession of Rangoon, advanced toward Ava, the missionaries were regarded as spies, seized, and imprisoned, with heavy chains. Then follows that chapter of Dr. Judson's cruel suffering for a year and a half, first in the loathsome dungeon of Ava, called "the death-prison," then in another at Amara-poora, and lastly in the wretched hole whose very name is offensive, — *Oung-pen-la*. Meantime, Mrs. Judson was a prisoner in her own house, closely guarded, exposed to many indignities, deprived of her furniture and most of her property, obliged to destroy letters and jour-

nals, lest something in them should be wrested to the injury of her husband; and, after incredible exertions, bribes, entreaties, and unyielding importunities, with her unfeeling guard, with members of the royal family, officers of state, and heartless jailers, only succeeding so far as to hold some intercourse with her husband in his galling fetters, carry him the scanty food which the government never furnished to their prisoners, and ward off the execution to which he and his fellow-prisoners, some of them of the vilest sort, were more than once doomed. Never have we read a more affecting history of suffering, fortitude, and Christian heroism, than in the simple narrative of this noble woman, recounting most of the incidents of that dark captivity. Days and nights, for many weary months, did she toil on, walking miles in all weather and all hours, with a babe in her arms born after the father's imprisonment, sick herself near unto death part of the time,—constantly interceding, constantly repulsed or deceived, returning to intercede again,—erecting for herself and child a bamboo shed in the prison-yard,—strong in faith and full of resource, never flagging or despairing. But a part of the story she should be allowed to tell herself; though we have room but for one extract from her letter to a brother, relating to the last period of imprisonment, when her husband was just recovering from a fever, her elder girl taken down with the small-pox, she and her infant threatened with the same dire disease, the jailer's children and others daily brought to her for inoculation, and she alone expected to procure medicine and food.

“The prisoners were at first chained, two and two; but as soon as the jailers could obtain chains sufficient, they were separated, and each prisoner had but one pair. The prison was repaired, a new fence made, and a large, airy shed erected in front of the prison, where the prisoners were allowed to remain during the day, though locked up in the little close prison at night. All the children recovered from the small-pox; but my watchings and fatigue, together with my miserable food and more miserable lodgings, brought on one of the diseases of the country, which is almost always fatal to foreigners. My constitution seemed destroyed, and in a few days I became so weak as to be hardly able to walk to Mr. Judson's prison. In this debilitated state I set off in a cart for Ava, to procure medicines

and some suitable food, leaving the cook to supply my place. I reached the house in safety, and for two or three days the disorder seemed at a stand; after which it attacked me so violently, that I had no hopes of recovery left; and my only anxiety now was, to return to Oung-pen-la, to die near the prison. It was with the greatest difficulty that I obtained the medicine-chest from the governor, and then had no one to administer medicine. I, however, got at the laudanum, and by taking two drops at a time for several hours, it so far checked the disorder, as to enable me to get on board a boat, though so weak that I could not stand, and again set off for Oung-pen-la. The last four miles was in that painful conveyance, the cart, and in the midst of the rainy season, when the mud almost buries the oxen. You may form some idea of a Burmese cart, when I tell you their wheels are not constructed like ours, but are simply round thick planks with a hole in the middle, through which a pole, that supports the body, is thrust.

"I just reached Oung-pen-la, when my strength seemed entirely exhausted. The good native cook came out to help me into the house; but so altered and emaciated was my appearance, that the poor fellow burst into tears at the first sight. I crawled on to the mat in the little room, to which I was confined for more than two months, and never perfectly recovered until I came to the English camp. At this period, when I was unable to take care of myself, or look after Mr. Judson, we must both have died, had it not been for the faithful and affectionate care of our Bengalee cook.

"Our dear little Maria was the greatest sufferer at this time, my illness depriving her of her usual nourishment, and neither a nurse nor a drop of milk could be procured in the village. By making presents to the jailers, I obtained leave for Mr. Judson to come out of prison, and take the emaciated creature around the village, to beg a little nourishment from those mothers who had young children. Her cries in the night were heart-rending, when it was impossible to supply her wants. I now began to think the very afflictions of Job had come upon me. When in health, I could bear the various trials and vicissitudes through which I was called to pass. But to be confined with sickness, and unable to assist those who were so dear to me when in distress, was almost too much for me to bear; and had it not been for the consolations of religion, and an assured conviction that every additional trial was ordered by infinite love and mercy, I must have sunk under my accumulated sufferings. Sometimes our jailers seemed a little softened at our distress, and, for several days together, allowed Mr. Judson to come to the house, which was to me an unspeakable consolation. Then, again,

they would be as iron-hearted in their demands, as though we were free from sufferings, and in affluent circumstances. The annoyances, the extortions, and oppressions, to which we were subjected during our six months' residence in Oung-pen-la, are beyond enumeration or description." — Vol. I. pp. 360 – 362.

At a later period, Dr. Judson asked, and with difficulty obtained permission, to be removed from his wretched prison to a more comfortable apartment, in a deserted cage! This cage, which was large and strong for its purpose, had just been occupied by a noble lion, whom the Burmese officers had doomed to starvation, from associating the animal with the British arms, and who wreaked a miserable, perhaps superstitious revenge, by putting the royal beast to a death of slow torture, and letting their prisoners witness the fearful struggles, and hear day and night the mighty roaring, of the famishing beast. When the conflict was over, and the skeleton had been removed, another singular scene occurred, as follows.

"The next time Mrs. Judson came to the prison door, and her husband crawled to meet her, — crawled with the upper part of his body, having his feet still attached to the moveless bamboo, — he had a new plan to broach. He told her of the empty lion's cage, what a comfortable retreat it might be made for him while the fever lasted, and begged her intercession with the governor; for he had entreated the comic jailer in vain, — the 'Cat' refused to listen for a moment to such an insult to royalty. Mrs. Judson's application was successful; and with feelings of deep gratitude to God for such a mercy, the sick man was removed from his loathsome quarters to the better accommodations of the lion's cage." — Vol. I. p. 388.

The final release of the prisoners was less owing to mercy than to necessity, the Burmans requiring the aid of Judson and Rice in effecting terms of capitulation with the English. While these were arranging, Mr. and Mrs. Judson were still held as prisoners, capriciously treated, and at last separated for six weeks, during which he knew nothing of her condition, not being allowed to stop a moment to inquire, as he was hurried past his own house at midnight. From half-hints, he inferred that his wife was very ill, if alive; and the next morning he hobbled as well as he could, with ankles maimed by chains and a frame fearfully reduced, to his former home. The door was open, and the first object

he saw within was a wan babe, begrimed with dirt, on the knees of a Burman woman. "He gave but one hasty look, and hurried to the next room. Across the foot of the bed, as though she had fallen there, lay a human object, that, at the first glance, was scarcely more recognizable than his child. The face was of a ghastly paleness, the features sharp, and the whole form shrunken almost to the last degree of emaciation. Here lay the devoted wife, who had followed him so unweariedly from prison to prison, ever alleviating his distresses, without even common hireling attendance. The wearied sleeper was awakened, by a breath that came too near her cheek, — with perhaps a falling tear."

Thus ended this singular experience of hardship and endurance. We stop not to ask how far it was necessary or prudent. In one sense it was all voluntary, and different minds will differently weigh the wisdom and duty of such exposure for so uncertain an end. Those who decide against it must subject to the same test the perils and sufferings of the first disciples, if not of Christ himself, — equally voluntary, and for the same end. This is certain, — a strong faith was there, a high sense of duty, sublime courage, and a large appreciation of the need and the greatness of Christian salvation.

Mr. Judson returned to Rangoon, and not long after removed to Amherst, the name given to a new station, where he left his wife most reluctantly, to go again to Ava, with the English ambassador, in the hope of making a favorable treaty for the mission. That hope was disappointed, and he went back only to find a desolate home. The exhausted frame of Mrs. Judson had at last sunk into the grave; her only surviving infant soon followed, — the third child they had buried, — and the stricken man pursued his work alone. For eight years he toiled without that helper and comforter whom his nature craved. And in this interval it was that another tendency was developed, which to some of his friends has been a cause of surprise and sorrow. He became almost an anchorite; and seemed resolved to mortify the flesh, with every earthly affection, to the utmost extent that nature would bear. Desiring to bring himself as nearly as possible to the Divine pattern, he gave all his patrimonial estate to the mission, no one being

now dependent upon him,— he constrained himself to minister to the sick in the most filthy and revolting disorders, in opposition to a strong natural shrinking,— he destroyed all his letters that could in any way keep alive an earthly ambition,— he built a bamboo house on the edge of the jungle, which he called the “hermitage,” living there upon rice, and devoting his whole time to prayer and the translation of the Scriptures, seeing only the few who came to him for religious instruction,— he inured himself to frequent fastings, then and through life,— and beside all else, in order to overcome a nervous dread, not of death itself so much as of decay and corruption, “he had a grave dug, and would sit by the verge of it, and look into it, imagining how each feature and limb would appear, days, months, and years after he had lain there.” All this has the appearance of a disturbed brain, rather than of mere austerity. But we should never think of making it the occasion of troubled or severe judgment of the man, as his biographer intimates it has been with some of his friends. We imagine their trouble is chiefly owing to Dr. Judson’s love of the writings of Madame Guion and the Quietists, which at this time he recommended in letters to friends. Dr. Wayland is at some pains to show that the whole, viewed rationally, is perfectly consistent with the character of the man, his self-renunciation, his extreme humility, and intense longing, at this time especially, for the highest possible degree of spirituality and perfectness. This may be; and certainly there is no sign of a desire for fame, either as a model or a martyr, and no enjoining of like austerities upon others. But a sufficient explanation, and to our minds a better one, is the “condition of his nervous system, shattered almost to insanity by sickness, captivity, torture, and the severest of all bereavements.” To which we should only incline to add, a violation of the laws of the human frame, in overtasking mind and body when they called for rest, and an over-striving for a spiritual state, which God forbids rather than requires, when it involves the risk of impairing all power and reason itself. One of the “rules of life” which he prescribed for himself, and often solemnly renewed, was this: “Deny self at every turn, so far as consistent with life, health, and usefulness.” And another: “Believe in

the doctrine of perfect sanctification attainable in this life." These constitute an exceedingly high standard; but few are likely to be injured by aiming too high, while it is very easy to set a low mark, or say the highest is beyond our reach.

Amid all his trials, Dr. Judson betrayed at times a temper of jocoseness, quite in contrast with his usual gravity, and indulged apparently for his own relief. Thus, when his wife left him for America, in great weakness and darkness, he wrote to Mr. Hough at Calcutta, thus : —

"My dear brother Hough: I send you herewith Mrs. Judson, and all that remains of the blue pills and senna, and beg you will see the articles all well packed and shipped for America by the earliest safe opportunity. Whatever expenses may be incurred, be so good as to defray from your own funds, and transmit your bill to me.

"It is said that man is prone to jest in the depth of misery, and the *bon-mots* of the scaffold have been collected; you may add the above specimen to the list, if you like. I feel as if I was on the scaffold, and signing, as it were, my own death-warrant. However, two years will pass away at last. Time and tide wait for no man, heedless alike of our joys and sorrows. When I last wrote, I was in the latter part of Acts; since that time, I have done nothing at all. For ten days or a fortnight we were laid by with fever, unable to help one another, and no living soul to depend on but Emily; and since we became convalescent, I have been occupied in making up my mind to have my right arm amputated, and my right eye extracted, which the doctors say are necessary in order to prevent a decay and mortification of the whole body conjugal.

We cannot pass over the remarkable disinterestedness of Dr. Judson's character. It appeared not alone in the nature of the employment which he chose for his life-work, but on every occasion. He early made known his views of the duty of missionaries in regard to property, at a time when his co-workers were contending sharply for their own rights. He gave it as his opinion, and proposed it to the home board as a rule, — one that was accepted, and remains to this day, — that missionaries owe *all* their time to those who send them, and the cause for which they labor. In accordance with this, he made over to the board 5,200 rupees, the sum allowed him for his services at the treaty of Jandabo; and also 2,000

rupees, the avails of *presents* made to him at Ava; and for this he disclaimed all credit, speaking of it, not as a gift, but a debt. Again, at Maulmain, in 1828, when the funds were low, he, with his brother Wade, wrote home to the secretary of the board, proposing to relinquish annually one twentieth of the moderate salary allowed them; and engaging, if a hundred ministers at home would give a twentieth of their income to missions, that they, at Maulmain, would resign another twentieth, that is, one tenth of the whole! And yet again, the next year, he gave up a quarter of his usual allowance, expressly stating that it should not interfere with the previous offer, but be additional. These voluntary acts, with the many other proofs of his self-sacrificing spirit, exhibit a principle and example that speak to all of us.

We cannot dwell longer on the character of this remarkable man. The subsequent events of his life are probably known: his second marriage, in 1834, with the widow of the missionary Boardman, a devoted wife and able helper for eleven years,—his sailing with her for America, when her health required it, and seeing her droop on the passage, and die at St. Helena,—his wish to return to his work, though obliged to pursue the passage alone to the United States,—the cordial and flattering welcome given him here, after more than thirty years of toil and suffering abroad, and now the only survivor, save one, of those who first sailed for the India mission,—his evident awkwardness here, not feeling at “home” in his native land while his heart remained in the adopted country,—his reëmbarking for Burmah, after spending but nine months in America, taking with him another wife, who has lived to tell of the end, as a contributor to this Memoir,—their arrival at Maulmain in November, 1846, and his renewed labors there and at Rangoon, in preaching, and prosecuting his Dictionary of the language, a fit companion for the Burman Bible,—his working on for three years more, with unsparing assiduity but failing strength, until, in the spring of 1850, he rested from all his labors. His last days and last thoughts, we need not say, were those of the Christian,—partaking both of the joy and sorrow, the light and shade, of his whole life. Driven from home upon a voyage urged upon him as the only hope in extreme de-

bility, separated from his wife who could not accompany him, sailing for the Isle of France, but only three days out of sight of the mountains of his beloved Burmah, — he calmly died, and was committed to the ocean-grave; a burial-place of which he had often spoken as desirable, bringing to his fancy a sense of freedom and expansion, compared with the narrow and mouldering tomb. He died at the age of sixty-two, having left home at twenty-four, and spent thirty-eight years in a heathen land.

That land presents now a different aspect from the one he first saw. Forty years have passed, immense sums have been expended, and many lives laid down. Not in vain. Asia is now reported as having in all 112 Baptist stations, occupied by 95 missionaries and 145 native helpers, beside 72 schools, containing 1,785 pupils. These statistics do not determine the actual amount of pure Christianity there, nor would they here. Neither can any one infer from them the truth of all the doctrines preached, as that would prove too much for other doctrines, and Roman propagandists. Dr. Judson does not seem to us to have been a dogmatist. Clear and strong in the theology of his sect, we yet recall nothing in his letters or conversation from which we should greatly dissent, except the language that he once puts into the mouths of the heathen: "Come and save us, for we are sinking into hell." Such language no man can apply literally to the heathen, as such, without charging upon their Creator awful injustice; and if it refers only to the vices and iniquities of heathenism, it is equally applicable to the wicked in Christian lands, — perhaps more so. With our whole hearts, we honor the motives and personal sacrifices, we rejoice in the virtues and successes, of all true missionaries. But we do earnestly pray and sigh for a brighter day *at home*. Could we see Christendom itself converted to Christ, — did we behold all the members of our churches living and laboring to bring all the inhabitants of our land out of social and spiritual bondage into the liberty and life of the Son of God, — we should feel that here was an Argument and a Power surpassing every other. "These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone."

ART. V. — THE PIETY AND THE POETRY OF THE SÚFÍS.*

A CRITICAL history of Sanscrit and Persian poetry, illustrated by specimens, is a great desideratum in English literature. A reproduction, or an adequate description, in our tongue, of the best Oriental poems, would introduce to us many striking novelties, alike in the modes of rhythmical construction they exhibit, in the characteristics of the thought they embody, and in the kinds and degrees of the emotion they portray. For instance, there is a metre called the *Ghazel*, in which a large portion of the lyrics of the East are written. Its law is that the first two lines rhyme, and for this rhyme a new one must be found in the second line of each succeeding couplet, the alternate line being free. These poems sometimes contain forty or fifty couplets. The following is a brief example of this style of versification : —

“ What is the good man and the wise ?
 Ofttimes a pearl which none doth prize ;
 Or jewel rare, which men account
 A common pebble and despise.
 Set forth upon the world’s bazaar,
 It mildly gleams, but no one buys,
 Till it in anger Heaven withdraws
 From the world’s undiscerning eyes :
 And in its shell the pearl again,
 And in its mine the jewel, lies.”

In like manner, as an illustration in proof of the other clauses of our assertion, namely, that Eastern poetry is full of thoughts and emotions very different from those familiar to our Western mind and heart, we will give a few examples from many : —

“ Mirrors God maketh all atoms in space,
 And fronteth each one with his perfect face.”

“ Pure spirit is the wine of God’s will,
 All matter is the scum of his cup ;

* 1. *Aklak-y-Lalaly; or Persian Hand-Book of Morals.* Translated into English by LIEUT. W. F. THOMPSON. 8vo. pp. 580.

2. *Persica Theosophia.* Von DR. THOLÜCK. 18mo. pp. 280.

3. *The Dabistân; or School of Manners.* Translated from the Persian, by DAVID SHEA and ANTHONY TROYER. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 580, 462, 387.

So the former life's goblet shall fill,
When the latter is all drunken up."

"God and the soul are two birds free,
And dwell together in one tree :
This eateth various-flavored fruits
Of sense's thoughts and world's pursuits ;
That tasteth not, nor great nor small,
But silently beholdeth all."

"One lonely pilgrim, ere the world began,
Traversed eternity to visit man,
And on the precincts of the holy shrine
Prepared an ample cup of love divine :
The foaming draught, o'erflowing all the spheres,
Dispersed them whirling for unnumbered years,
While the rapt seraph from its ardent brim
Rushed reeling back, and owned 't was not for him."

It is not only true, that in the Oriental literature there is a vast deal of thought and feeling almost wholly foreign to us ; but it is equally true also, that innumerable images, fancies, modes of imagination, reflection, and sentiment have gradually found their way from their Indian and Persian cradles into modern European minds and books. Verily,

"Many a light the Orient throws,
O'er the midland waters brought ;
He alone who Hafiz knows
Knows what Calderon has thought."

It has been observed a thousand times, that the tide of life has been setting westward now for many centuries past,—from the East to the West the empire of man has been taking its destined way. But the idea is happily expressed by a noble British bard in the succeeding lines, and the advice he appends is wise, and might be profitably heeded :—

"Eastward roll the orbs of heaven,
Westward tend the thoughts of men :
Let the poet, nature-driven,
Wander eastward now and then."

In fact, through the labors of the Royal Asiatic Society and its branches, a strong interest has been awakened in many accomplished English scholars in the whole

subject of the literature of the East. The fruits of this, in the field of poetry alone, already appear in quite an array of volumes. Sir William Jones led the way with metrical versions of numerous hymns to the Hindoo deities. Wilkins followed with the *Bhagvat Gita*, a long episode from the stupendous Indian Epic, the *Mahôbhârata*, some other portions of which have been given to us in spirited verse by Milman. Then we have a volume of Persian poems by Miss Costello; also the *Gulistan*, or *Rose Garden*, of Saadi, by Ross; and the *Shah-Nameh* of Firdousi, the great Persian heroic poem, by Atkinson. Dr. Wilson, Boden Professor of Sanscrit at Oxford, has published specimens of the Hindoo Theatre in three volumes, and two volumes of other poems from the Sanscrit. There are likewise some gems of translation scattered through the volumes of the *Asiatic Journal*, and of the *Asiatic Researches*. A beautiful version of the *Prem Sâgar*, or the *Ocean of Love*, a History of Krishna, by E. B. Eastwick, has just come from the press. Monckton Milnes has embodied some exquisite specimens of Oriental poetry in his volume entitled "*Palm Leaves*." And Trench has given the public a volume of poems derived from Eastern sources, many of which possess remarkable imaginative beauty, ethical truth, and religious power. But the Germans have cultivated this field much more extensively than the English. Herder, Schlegel, Von Hammer, Rückert, Platen, Tholück, and many others, have enriched their mother tongue with copious contributions of the most choice and characteristic breathings of the Eastern Muses. Their translations have made the names of Calidâsa, Tyâsa, Ferdousi, Hafiz, and their compeers, wellnigh as familiar on the banks of the Rhine and at Vienna, as they ever were along the Ganges and at Shiraz. Especially has Goethe done much to acquaint the modern Western world, in some respects, with the peculiar traits of the poetry of the ancient East, by his "*West-östlicher Divan*." This is a collection, not of translations, but of original poems, written by Goethe after he was past sixty years of age. Monckton Milnes, certainly a competent judge, says of this work, "any one who has made it the companion of his Eastern tour will acknowledge the wonderful success of the experiment, and feel more strongly than ever the

genius of that consummate artist, to whom all faiths and feelings, all times and events, seem to have ministered, as certain of being well understood and rightly used as if their master had been Nature itself." He will feel how truly Rückert has sung:—

" Would you feast
On purest East,
You must ask it of the selfsame man,
Who the best
Has served the West
With such vintage as none other can :
Now with Western rapture sated
Eastern draughts he quaffs elated,
On his fresh luxurious Ottoman.
Evening splendor
Loves to render
Goethe homage as the Western star ;
Lights of morning
Joy, adorning
Him who triumphs in the Eastern car :
When they both combine their duty
All the sky is flush with beauty,
One Divan of crimson burning far."

We have been led farther than we expected in this sketch. - It will suffice to show that ample materials are at hand for the compilation, from the German and the English, of such an array of the poems of the East as would furnish, with the aid of a few connecting and explanatory notes, within the compass of a volume, a bird's-eye view of that branch of Sanscrit and Persian literature. Such a work would be at once extremely entertaining and instructive, and it would be unique in our language. We are therefore glad to know that the task has been undertaken, and is in process of accomplishment. With these preliminary remarks, we propose in the present article to confine ourselves to a small province within the wide domain of Oriental poetry, and to give our readers a brief account of the piety of the Sáfis, with exemplifying illustrations from that fascinating poetry in which it flowered with spontaneous abundance.

The Sáfis are a sect of comparatively modern origin, which sprouted from the trunk of Mohammedanism

where the mysticism of India was grafted in it, and was nourished in the passionate sluggishness of Eastern reverie by the soothing dreams and fanatic fires of that wondrous race and clime. They flourished chiefly in Persia, but rightly claimed as virtual members of their sect the most distinguished religionists, philosophers, and poets of the whole Orient for thousands of years, because all these agreed with them in the fundamental principles of their system of thought, rules of life, and aims of aspiration. A detailed and very good account of the Sûfis may be found in Sir John Malcom's *History of Persia*, not to mention Tholück's *Sufismus*, and a score of less accessible sources of information. Their name some authors suppose to be derived from the Persian word signifying *wool*, and to refer to their peculiar dress, which consisted exclusively of light woollen garments; others think it derived from the Greek word for a wise man, and referring to their claim of possessing the profoundest, nay, the only true wisdom in the world. They are a sect of mystic devotees, whose absorption in spiritual contemplations and hallowed raptures is unparalleled, whose piety penetrates to a depth where the mind staggers among the bottomless roots of being in mazes of wonder and delight, and reaches to a height where the soul loses itself among the roofless immensities of glory in a dazzling and boundless ecstasy. Their sole aim is a union with God so intimate that it becomes identity, wherein thought is an involuntary, intuitive grasp and fruition of universal truth, and feeling is a dissolving and infinite delirium filled with the perfect calmness of unfathomable bliss. For the culture and training of the soul unto the winning of this incomparable and last attainment, they have devised and perfected a system of means whose simplicity and complication, adaptedness and completeness,—regular stages of initiation and gradations of experience, spiritual frictions and magnetisms, stimulants for some faculties, soporifics for others, diversified disciplines and educations for all,—are astonishingly fitted to guide the disciple gradually on to the marvellous result they desire. And it could scarcely fail of effect if faithfully tried even in the colder airs and on the more phlegmatic natures of the West. The passage through the classified degrees of attainment in the

mystic life, they call "the travelling by steps up to heaven." Our limits now will not permit us to exhibit these, the instruments and methods of the Sûfî culture. We must hurry on to set forth the five points which contain the most remarkable features and elements of their general religious system, a system beginning and ending in piety, from centre all around to periphery compact of those peculiar conceptions, desires, and experiences which prompt the labors and constitute the triumph of the distinctive Oriental piety.

The first mark of the Sûfî system of doctrine on which we shall dwell is its mysticism. Mysticism of an amazing quality and comprehensiveness is its root and life. It blends a pantheistic metaphysics of rare subtlety and reach with a delicate, luxuriant, gorgeous poetry, and plunges the productions of both in gulfs of inscrutable mystery, or suspends them in the darkness of insufferable light. The flood of the infinite rushes over, breaks down, swallows up the fences and walls of the finite, and in the shoreless gleam of its wild waves every distinction vanishes, nothing seems every thing, and all things seem nothing. "The world," they say, "is a bud from the bower of God's beauty, the sun a spark from the light of his wisdom, and the sky a bubble on the ocean of his power." They hold that "God is at once the performer of the rite of devotion, the rite itself, the implements by which it is performed, and the fruit which it bestows." Ribhu and Nidâgha are conversing, when the king rides by on an elephant. The following dramatic dialogue ensues. "Inform me, Nidâgha, which of these is the elephant, and which the king." "Why, Ribhu, you will observe that the elephant is underneath, the king is above him." "Yes, but what is meant, Nidâgha, by underneath and by above?" Nidâgha knocks Ribhu down, jumps upon him, and says, "I am above, you are underneath." "Very well," cries Ribhu, "now tell me which is you and which is I!" This mysticism in a thousand shapes and colors pervades the Sûfî poetry.

"Needst thou to move
Thy skirts above
Thy knees,
In passing through
That flood of glue,
This world?"

Why, I did even
 Pass through the seven
 Great seas,
 And not a drop
 My foot's bare top
 Impearled."

The next prominent feature in the Súfí faith is its representation of God. This is founded on a most unqualified and absolute pantheism. They often declare,

"The frames of being to no other bow;
 Not only all are Thine, but all are Thou."

In an especial manner, in a preëminent form and degree they recognize God in man, the motions of his dealing in all the experience of the soul.

"God's doors are men; the Pariah hind
 Admits thee to the perfect Mind."

One of them says:

"I know my God by my God's help; O then
 I could not have known God, had God not been."

They call him the Lost One, and seek to find him again and be reunited.

"Thou that wouldst find the Lost One, lose thyself!
 For nought but self thyself from him divides.
 Ask ye, how I o'erpassed the dreary gulf?
 One step beyond myself, — nothing besides."

They call him the Loved One, and aspire to live in his cloudless presence.

"The dazzling glory of the Loved One shines unseen,
 And self's the curtain o'er the road: away, O screen!"

They assert that he dwells with all his infinitude in every loving heart, and attempt to illustrate how myriads may each wholly possess him, without interference, by such ingenious comparisons as this: —

"On those who love the loving God
 He does himself complete bestow,
 With no division and no waste
 He fills each heart with all the heaven:
 So, when men's eyes from earth's low sod

Behold the moon's transcendent glow,
 Its image, calm and undefaced,
 To each in full perfection's given."

God is the infinite bodiless beauty and love whose attributes darken and shimmer through the veils and illusions of nature, and whose embrace, uniting the soul to himself, is speechless bliss and endless rest.

"All things that are from Him their sustenance wait,
 And sun and moon are beggars at his gate."

All conscious spirits, rent and discerpted from his substance once, and banished in material wanderings, pine in exile, and painfully yearn after him with unwearied fondness, until he relents, discloses his presence, and then the smitten and entranced soul falters an instant, sinks into his embrace, and is lost in the everlasting rapture of Divinity.

Another very noticeable characteristic of the Sûfî form of piety is its purely internal nature and emphasis, its scornful, immeasurable superiority to the outward ceremonies of a visible ritual.

"A wooden rosary he never needs
 Who tells in love and thought the spirit's beads"

They assert that "one hour of secret meditation and silent love is of more avail than seventy thousand years of external worship." When Rabia had effected the pilgrimage to Mecca with great toils and sufferings, and saw the people praying around the Kaabeh, she beat her breast and cried aloud:

"O heart! weak follower of the weak,
 That thou shouldst traverse land and sea,
 In this far place that God to seek
 Who long ago had come to thee!"

"When a knowledge of the Supreme has been attained," says the Sûfî, "there is no need of ceremonies. When a soft refreshing breeze blows from the south, there is no need of a fan." Saadi writes:

"If, whene'er our souls with Truth's own thoughts are swelling,
 We for God with pious fear and faith do rightly search,
 We shall learn that all the world is Love's own dwelling,
 And but little care for Moslem mosque or Christian church."

It would be difficult to find a rebuke upon hypocritical formality more delicately and pungently administered than in the following lines :—

“ A monk that once did at a king’s board feed
 Ate less than was his wont, and was his need ;
 And the meal done, when he a grace should say,
 Prayed more and warmer than he used to pray.
 O friend, if great things thus in small be found,
 Quite other road than heavenward thou art bound.”

Oriental piety is distinguished by nothing more than by its intense spirituality, its mystic inwardness. With one farther citation we will leave this division of our subject. It may be described as the religion of the heart.

“ Beats there a heart within that breast of thine ?
 Then compass reverently its sacred shrine ;
 For the true spiritual Mecca is the heart,
 And no proud piles of perishable art.
 When God ordained the pilgrim rite, that sign
 Was meant to lead thy thoughts to things divine ;
 A thousand times *he* treads that round in vain,
 Who e’en one human heart would idly pain.
 Leave wealth behind, — bring God thy heart, best light
 To guide thy wandering steps through life’s dark night.
 God spurns the riches of a thousand coffers,
 And says, ‘ My chosen is he his heart who offers ;
 Nor gold nor silver seek I, but above
 All gifts the heart, and buy it with my love.
 Yea, one sad contrite heart, which men despise,
 More than my throne and fixed decree I prize.’
 Then think not lowly of thy heart, though lowly,
 For holy is it, and there dwells the Holy.
 God’s presence-chamber is the human heart,
 Ah, blest who in such converse takes a part ! ”

A fourth emphatic attribute of the Sufi philosophy is its determined optimism. It denies the reality of evil. It peacefully mingles the fighting limits of light and darkness, dissolves the rocky boundaries of right and wrong, and buries all clamorous distinctions beneath the level sea of pantheistic unity. All drops, however driven forth, scalded in deserts, or frozen on mountains, belong to the ocean, and by omnipotent attractions will finally find their way home to repose, and flow with the tidal

uniformity of the all-embracing deep. Vice and virtue, purity and corruption, birth and decay, cruelty and tenderness, all antagonistic elements and processes, are equally the manifestations and workings of God. From him all spirits proceeded, and to him they are ever returning; or in the temple, or on the gibbet, groaning in sinks of degraded sensuality and want, or exulting in palaces of refinement and splendor, they are equally climbing by irresistible affinities and propulsions towards their native seat in Deity.

“ Yet spake yon purple mountain,
Yet said yon ancient wood,
That night or day, that love or crime,
Leads all souls to the good.”

This optimistic denial of the reality of evil is not always practised or defended by all the Súfís, but by the most consistent and advanced of them it usually is, and is frequently brought out with a sudden emphasis, an unflinching thoroughness, in forms and guises of mystic reason, wondrous beauty, and bewildering subtlety, which must astound a Christian moralist. In some Súfí poems the moral law is revealed with profound insight and applied with stringency. In the day of judgment

“ God asks not, ‘ To what sect did he belong ? ’
But, ‘ Did he do the right, or love the wrong ? ’ ”

They often say that “ nothing else can banish a soul so deeply into hell as cruelty does.” The words *hell* and *heaven*, and other kindred terms, are never used by them in a literal and local sense, but invariably in a metaphorical, spiritual, inward sense. One of them sings :

“ The love of life my heart could never prove,
Till further burdened with the life of love.”

And another one exclaims, in a contrasting, though similar strain :

“ The fear of hell my soul could never know,
Till sin had made its fires within me glow.”

But, as a general rule, the great Súfí writers do not hesitate to put all deeds, moral and immoral, on a perfect equality.

“Up, Hafiz ! grace from high God’s face
 Beams on the pure ;
 Shy thou not hell, and trust thou well,
 Heaven is secure.”

Assuming that God is all in all, the absolute Creator, the only dynamic reality, they reason thus :—

“The world a mighty chess-board we should name,
 And God both sides is playing of the game :
 Moses and Pharaoh seem opposed, for they
 Do thus God’s greatness on two sides display ;
 They seem opposed, but at the root are one,
 And each his part allotted has well done.”

This whole view could not be more tersely expressed than in the following couplet from the Dabistan :—

“Whatever road I take, it joins the street
 Which leadeth all who take it Thee to meet.”

The last important trait of the Sufi system of religious thought to which we shall call attention, is contained in the idea zealously held by them all, and suffusing most of their poetry,—the idea that death is ecstasy. It plunges the heated, weary, and thirsting soul into a flood of delicious repose, the unalloyed and unending fruition of a divine delight. The past was a sweet ocean of Divinity, the future is another, the present interposes a blistering and dreary strand between. They cry, “O the bliss of that day when I shall depart from this desolate mansion, and my soul shall find rest, and I shall follow the traces of my beloved!” The following are fair specimens of the sentiments abounding in their poems :—

“Life is a loan from Him who gave us being,
 And its best value lies in homewards fleeing.”

“Some seraph whispers from the verge of space,—
 ‘Make not these hollow shores thy resting-place ;
 Born to a portion in thy Maker’s bliss,
 Why linger idly in a waste like this ?’ ”

“Blest time that frees me from the bonds of clay,
 To track the Lost One through his airy course :
 Like motes exulting in their parent ray,
 My kindling spirit rushes to its Source.”

" My spirit pines behind its veil of clay
 For light too heavenly perfect here to shine :
 Blest time that tears the envious folds away
 Now dimly darkening o'er that radiant shrine !
 Poor prisoned exile from a brighter bower !
 Not here, not thus thy wonted lay can rise :
 O, burst thy bonds and let the descant tower
 With freshened rapture in its native skies !"

" A lover on his death-bed lay, and o'er his face the while,
 Though anguish racked his wasted frame, there swept a fitful smile :
 A flush his sunken cheek o'erspread, and to his faded eye
 Came light that less spoke earthly bliss than heaven-breathed ecstasy.
 And one that weeping o'er him bent, and watched the ebbing breath,
 marvelled what thought gave mastery o'er that dread hour of death ; —
 ' Ah, when the FAIR, adored through life, lifts up at length,' he cried,
 ' The veil that sought from mortal eye immortal charms to hide,
 'Tis thus true lovers, fevered long with that sweet mystic fire,
 Exulting meet the LOVED ONE's gaze, and in the glance expire.' "

All travellers among the Sûfis, all writers about them, agree in testifying that their piety is sincere, prevailing, and mysteriously fervent and absorbing. But they also agree in testifying that it is based on a theology full of all the mysticisms, extravagances, and Antinomianisms of Oriental speculation, and is fostered by artificial processes alien and unadapted in much to the Western temperament. There is undoubtedly a great deal both in their theory and in their practice that we should be warned by and beware of. But when we have discriminated these things, there is much more which may well admonish and quicken us, saying to us ever and anon,

" Though human life be reason's dream,
 Rouse thine ere morning wake it,
 And offer up thy heart to Him
 Who else unasked will take it."

If the exhibition of Sûfî piety made in this article merely gratifies an intellectual curiosity and imparts a little information, though that would be something, yet

it would not be the best that may be. There are thoughts and sentiments in these poems which ought, however suggested and wherever recognized, to smite us with subduing wonder before the universe, and kindle us with sympathetic yearning after God. They ought magnetically to strike with opening life and desire that side of our souls which opens upon Infinity and Eternity, and wherethrough we thrill to the visiting influences of boundless Mystery and nameless Love. They should help to lead us to a state of faith and fruition, that healthy state of full Christian piety wherein we feel, in oft and favored hours, a rapture of calmness, a vision of heaven, a perfect communion of the Father, confessing with electric shudders of awe and joy the motions of the Spirit as the hand of God wanders solemnly among the chords of the heart. They may tell us that it were

“ Better down nature’s scale to roll,
Far as the base, unbreathing clod,
Than rest, a conscious, reasoning soul,
Impervious to the light of God.”

W. R. A.

ART. VI. — INFANCY.

As saith “ the Bard of holy faith,
And calm philosophy,”
“ Heaven itself *doth* seem to lie
About blest Infancy.”

Fair season of sweet innocence !
Enchanted scroll, close-furled !
Quite mute it lieth, telling naught
Of its interior world.

A mystic beauty circles round
Its waking and its sleep ;
And, ever and anon, shoot forth
Strange gleams we cannot keep.

Soft, sunny gleams, from earnest eyes,
Serene, and deep, and clear ;
As though bright visions, veiled from us,
To them were hovering near.

These little ones, with loving hearts,
And souls of spotless white ;
The angels may perchance discern,
Arrayed in robes of light.

With glimpses of the golden harps,
And of the waving palm,
Soft floating strains they oft may catch,
Of some celestial psalm.

We know the holy Nazarene
Once blessed them with his love ;
Upheld them in his arms, and said,
" Of such is heaven above."

We know " their angels always look
Upon the Father's face " ;
And straight reflect, to each dear one,
Some radiance or grace.

We know, that often, lying calm
In cradle-slumber deep,
Smiles of unearthly beauty play
Within their charmed sleep.

As if some cherub visitant
Those folded eyes could see ;
Or those closed ears were listening now
To heaven's own harmony.

And when an infant goeth home,
By angels borne away,
What still and wondrous beauty doth
Upon its death-sleep lay !

Mysterious light is on its brow,
And on its golden hair ;
As if the spirit, in its flight,
Had stamped its glory there.

Thrice happy they who venture not
Beyond the angel's call !
Whose cherished names are early writ
Upon a head-stone small !

Well now may Christian lips take up
What falls from heathen tongue ;
They " whom the Gods love " best on earth
Are summoned hence when young.

ART. VII. — OSGOOD'S FOOTPRINTS OF PROVIDENTIAL LEADERS.*

THE title of Mr. Osgood's volume is attractive, and whoever turns to the table of Contents, and runs his eye over some of the heads of the lectures, — "Abraham and the Empire of Faith," — "Moses and the Law," — "Aaron and the Priesthood," — "Saul and the Throne," — "David and the Psalms," — "Solomon and the Hebrew Wisdom," — "Isaiah and the Prophets," — "The Messiah in his Ministry," — "Peter and the Keys," — "Paul and Gospel Liberty," — "The Disciples and the Unseen Witness," — "The Theologians and the World to Come," — will be disposed and impelled to read the book. The perusal will not disappoint. The execution is as successful as the announcement is alluring and expressive. We gather from the Preface, that the contents of this volume were prepared in the course of parochial duty, for the benefit of the young people of the author's parish, and that it is published at the request of friends, — a request which will carry its own justification with it to every reader. The volume is not a theological treatise, nor a critical discussion, nor a doctrinal argument upon the whole or any part of the Christian religion. This it does not propose to be. It assumes in the reader an established Christian faith, and a somewhat familiar acquaintance with the sacred oracles, and then aims to confirm and enlarge this faith, arrange, classify, and give system and shape to this acquaintance with Scripture, by taking up the prominent representative personages in the Old and New Testament; and, through the discussion of their times, characters, influence, present a general portraiture, in bold and strong outlines, of the progress of divine revelation, and the gradual unfolding of the plan and purpose of Providence, from the call of Abraham to the coming of Christ; — and to do this "without cumbering the pages with philological discussion or scholastic theorizing." It was no easy task, therefore, which the author

* *God with Men: or Footprints of Providential Leaders.* By SAMUEL OSGOOD, Author of "Studies in Christian Biography," etc. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Company. New York: Charles S. Francis and Company. 1853. 12mo. pp. 269.

had imposed upon himself. The chances of success were against him. In all things the "*juste milieu*" is a difficult attainment, and in none more so than in the attempt to combine professional learning with popular instruction. To write a series of papers, covering the whole scope of the Bible, touching more or less directly upon all the important points of theology, and in relation to these points to present the best results of profound study and thorough learning, in such form as shall make them satisfactory and conclusive to the general reader, without entering into the minute details of argument and criticism by which those results are reached, — this is no easy task. Mr. Osgood's thorough scholarship, his accurate acquaintance with the minute details of every theological question, his nice discrimination as to what is important in its bearing upon the general result, and his happy power to combine and generalize, eminently qualified him for the task, which he has executed with all the success the nature of the case would admit.

We like the conception and plan of his book. It leads in the right direction, it enters a field too little cultivated, where much may be done to diffuse truth, promote and establish faith, and increase the power of the Bible over the intellect and the heart. The divinely diversified character and contents of the sacred volume, of the wide field of human history which it covers, from the Pentateuch to the Epistles, suggest various uses and applications, various modes of illustration and enforcement, of which Protestantism has been slow to avail itself. Protestants have not turned the Bible to so much account in the support of their cause, and in behalf of the practical power of religion, as they might have done. Their great principle, the sufficiency and authority of the Scriptures as the rule and ground of faith, is sound. Their efforts to diffuse the Bible without note or comment, to translate it into all languages and convey it to all lands, through such agencies as the British and Foreign and the American Bible Societies, are noble. Their commentaries, both those designed for scholars and those designed for popular use and to meet popular wants, are good and do good. But there are other modes of treating the Bible, other uses to be made of it, other ways of unfolding its contents, so that they shall confirm, quicken, and invigorate faith.

Most of our popular commentaries are occupied with minute details and explanations of particular words and passages. From the manner in which they are prepared, they treat each passage, sometimes each verse, as if it were an independent proposition by itself, and tend to encourage the idea that it is so. They foster this as the only mode of studying the Bible. They seldom give a philosophical analysis of the general scope, spirit, and purpose of the separate books whose contents they seek to explain. They have little to say about the individual characteristics of the writer, and of his place and importance as one of the "Providential Leaders" in the heaven-guided march of humanity. Then we have "Bible Histories" and "Sacred Histories," which are nothing more than condensed epitomes of Scriptural facts, naked skeletons, with no clothing of flesh and blood, no living, breathing life in themselves, and no power to awaken and impart it to others. We want a more free, full, just treatment and study of the Bible, both as a whole and in parts, — a more perfect and diversified unfolding of its various and wonderful history, contents, characters, and writers. We are persuaded that in the direction of Mr. Osgood's book much may be done to diffuse a better knowledge and more just conceptions of the Bible, to remove sceptical doubts and beget a reverent and practical faith. We have already said that the volume before us assumes an established Christian faith in the reader, and this is true. It enters into no direct argument with unbelief; it does not address itself to that state of mind. Yet were a person a prey to sceptical doubts and tendencies, wanting faith in divine revelation, we know of few books that we should sooner put into his hands, and with stronger hope of good results, than these "Footprints of Providential Leaders." Modern infidelity attacks the Bible, particularly the Old Testament, from the high moral standard to which the Gospel has raised the human mind. It forgets that the world and its inhabitants had an infancy. It overlooks the fact that divine revelation as contained in the Bible is a series of progressive dispensations; and is to be studied and interpreted in the light of this great fact. This fact is the radical and pervading thought of Mr. Osgood's volume, giving it unity of purpose and impression, and admirably adapting it, therefore,

to remove the sceptical doubts and difficulties which disturb some minds; not by directly combating with them, but by suggesting thoughts or enforcing principles before which they fade away. It will strengthen the faith of every reader, enlarge his views of the general subject of divine revelation, and increase his interest in the habitual and thorough reading of the Bible.

We have given the general impression made upon us by Mr. Osgood's book. It would be very easy, in a more minute examination of its contents, to exercise the special vocation of a critic, and find fault, or at least indicate when our own taste, opinions, and judgment differ from those of the writer. But to do this with the thoroughness and fairness with which it ought to be done, if done at all, is forbidden by our limits, and the feelings of general satisfaction with which we have closed the volume do not prompt to it. We prefer to lay before our readers two or three passages from the volume itself, which will give them some idea of its character, and beget a desire to read the whole.

In the lecture on "Moses and the Law," the argument in behalf of his divine legation and the character of his institution is thus summed up:—

"But let the message speak alike for itself, the man, and the mission. Viewed in its central principle, this message was the revelation of the one God, just and holy, a declaration of a law of duty towards God and man, and an application of this law to the civil and ecclesiastical polity of the chosen nation.

"The great principle, and the consequent declaration, who will undertake to slight or to gainsay? What philosophy has ever equalled in depth and sublimity the Mosaic revelation of the Godhead? What morality goes beyond that of the Decalogue, unless it be that taught by Him who reduced each table of commandments to a single principle, and summed up all in the love of God and our neighbor? The difficulty, if such there be, lies in the attempted application of the Divine law to the polity of a chosen nation. What, then, shall we say of the message as exhibited in the civil and Levitical codes?

"As Christians we do not by any means feel called upon to defend these codes as being in themselves perfect. They are not our law. Yet we owe them the debt of fair appreciation. The Levitical law needs only to be understood to be respected. Its minute enactments, that seem to us so trivial, were aimed at prevalent dangers, and guarded the national life against idola-

trous practices that would utterly corrupt the morals of the people, or against impurities of diet which would impair their health. Its symbols, feasts, and sacrifices were intended to impress upon them, through the senses, the truths and duties which they were too unspiritual to appreciate in a more direct and philosophical statement. Its priesthood were the appointed clergy, who instructed the people in the law, administered in public worship, and by both agencies bound the tribes together in a sacred national compact. All the particulars of the Levitical system we cannot expect to understand, so remote is the time, so peculiar were the circumstances, of the Hebrews and their idolatrous neighbors. We know enough of its leading principles, enough of the practical workings of idolatry, to move us to look with reverence upon the enactments by which the lawgiver hoped to secure his people against what had been the degradation and ruin of so many nations.

“The civil law of Moses may well be called a miracle of jurisprudence. To him belongs the high prerogative of founding government, not upon the will of persons, but upon laws. The law of Israel was supreme. High and low were alike subject to its tribunal. The superior pontiff was not too exalted to be bound by the statute-book, nor was the bondman so mean as to be below its protection. Thus the great achievement of the noblest civilization was secured by Moses. To him belongs the honor of the first statement and practice of the doctrine, that the ultimate foundation of law is the will of God, and that legislation based upon Divine justice, not upon the caprice of man, is to rule the nations. Israel was the first republic. Her people were free and equal, their liberties protected by powers admirably adjusted between senate, priests, magistrates, and people. There was more than an empty superstition in the respect which moved our New England fathers to make the Mosaic code the basis of their legislation. They found in their Bible a system of polity far other than that of kings like James and Charles, and prelates like Whitgift and Laud. The polity of their children has never lost the lessons of their wisdom, and the constitution of our land has borrowed not a little from the Puritan sages. We differ from them in our estimate of the minuter provisions of the code. We of course regard Christianity as establishing far other relations between church and state. But do not our best wisdom and experience agree with them in honoring the essential principle of the Mosaic polity?

“But what shall we say of the alleged cruelty of the Mosaic law? Does it not breathe the lust of warfare, and is not *Mara*, rather than the Heavenly Father, the presiding God of the nation? What to many may seem a strange statement is the

contrary fact. The Mosaic code is eminently pacific in its nature. The conquest of the promised land was indeed bloody, and we do not by any means consider Christians as answerable for the manner in which Moses began or Joshua finished it. The Hebrew leaders, however, in their war policy were more humane than the spirit of their age, and appealed, moreover, for authority to a Divine command which ranked the sword with the earthquake and the flood as an agency in preparing the way for a true civilization. But the law itself, the code matured for the government of the nation, was eminently peaceful. It provided for a life of quiet agriculture, and discouraged the passion for military conquest. There was to be no standing army. The land was to be held and cultivated by the tribes as their own and inalienable. A nation of farmers was thus constituted, who would be averse to aggressive warfare, and the country began to decline in true prosperity when this original policy was abandoned and the lust for extending territory by war begun. Thus the Mosaic code anticipated the result of our best experience, and held in honor the arts of agriculture and peace as the true basis of national welfare.

"Thus pacific as well as equitable, the civil law was also humane, — humane surely as compared with any other prominent civil code, — more humane than the present policy even of Christian nations. Even the principle of retributive justice — so much reprobated by a later age, and so abused by the Jews as to call forth a special condemnation upon its misapplication, 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth' — was mercy itself when compared with much that is now called Christian legislation. Simply an equivalent for injury was to be demanded. How much more mercy is there in that principle, than in the system that sacrifices human existence to chattel property, and demands a man's life for a sheep or horse or forged name! The great error in judging the Mosaic criminal code consists in judging of its merit, not in connection with civil law, but in comparison with the lofty spiritual principles which are the crowning grace of evangelical religion.

"Whilst crimes against property were leniently dealt with, offences against religion were very severely punished, on account of their being treason against a Divine Sovereign, as well as sacrilege against the national church. It is not very consistent for us in this time, when a soldier is shot for disrespect to his commander, to blame the code which doomed all idolatrous persons to death, as for an offence the most heinous against the sovereign and the people. It does not do for us to accuse the Mosaic law of inhumanity towards the slave. Although not prohibited, slavery was restricted in the mode best fitted ultimately

to suppress it. The slave was under legal protection. The person of the bondman was inviolable. Freedom was the immediate recompense of the slave who had been maimed, even by the loss of a tooth. We do not maintain that the Mosaic code was perfect, and beyond need of improvement or progress; else, what room would be left for the dispensation of grace and truth? That it was humane, we say without hesitation. In some points Christian powers, whether monarchical or republican, may learn humanity from the system which vulgar infidelity so often stigmatizes as the quintessence of cruelty.

"Equal, pacific, and humane, the Mosaic civil law stands a stately monument of an age when the world was in darkness and the lands from which the light of jurisprudence have since beamed were an unbroken wilderness.

"Put all parts of the message together, its fundamental principle, its ecclesiastical polity, and its civil code, may we not say that it proves at once the greatness of the man and the authority of the mission? Nationality, indeed, exclusive nationality, pervades the whole dispensation; but mark well the fact, that this nationality contained within itself the seeds of its own enlargement into a broad humanity. The one nation was to be prepared to become the teacher of all nations. The seed given of God was planted within a walled garden, guarded from harm, and fed with rain and dew from heaven. Complain not of the temporary inclosure. Remember that the fruit there borne is to be for the use of the nations, and in the fulness of time branches from that tree are to take root in every land on earth." — pp. 28 – 34.

In the paper on "Aaron and the Priesthood," after contrasting the Jewish priesthood and the Christian ministry, and alluding to the mistake made by those Christian "hierarchies that have striven to build up the kingdom of God upon the Jewish basis"; and "to the growing longing for a Christian civilization, — a civilization that shall be the embodiment of Christianity, and present man in true relations with nature, his neighbor, and his God," — Mr. Osgood says: —

"Till a truer civilization comes, the priestly hierarchy will remain. Till then let it remain. For if earth presents to us nothing better than idols of gold and military glory, we prefer to kneel at the shrine of Aaron, and win the blessing of the pontiff who wears his robes and aims to repeat his sacrifice. We wish not the old hierarchy to disappear, until a better order prevails or is recognized. The worship of physical comfort and social luxury that characterizes our time, the deification of Nature, not under the forms of the heavenly host, or of sacred

birds and beasts, but of mechanical and chemical forces that promise men wealth, is a base idolatry, far too base to meet the yearnings of hearts raised above the clod. Who that thinks and aspires is not heart-sick of our present civilization, and its idols of gold and slavery and war? Who does not feel glad that our financial age, in its mighty effort to subject all things to its sway, has found itself so baffled by the old hierarchy, and that the line of Aaron, for lack of a nobler order, still keeps its power unbroken by the host of materialists who in literature, philosophy, trade, and legislation have threatened to be the Titanic fathers of a new and rebellious world? " — pp. 54, 55.

Mr. Osgood is not commonly a *croaker*. By temperament and constitution he belongs to the *hopeful*, and not the *despondent* party; but there are one or two passages in the volume in which he indulges, slightly indeed, in a croaking tone of remark, — despondent, accusatory, and fault-finding. We have quoted the above passage, merely to suggest the question of its wisdom and justice; we have not room for its full discussion. We cannot forbear the remark, however, that the generous and far-reaching efforts of the present day to reform the evils that prevail, have begotten too strong a disposition to overlook the good that actually exists. We have various societies engaged in all sorts of moral enterprises and reforms, — and we thank God for it, — but we have often wished, when reading their reports, detailing in every variety of form the statistics of vice and crime and sin, that we had one other society, whose object it should be to hold up, over against these appalling exhibitions of the world's annual wickedness, the statistics of the world's annual virtue and progress in goodness; that we might know how many hearts have resisted temptation, as well as how many have yielded to it, — how many families have been newly blessed and made happy by faith and prayer and a domestic altar set up in their midst, as well as how many have been ruined by intemperance and made miserable by sin; that we might know how many just, kind, generous, humane, noble, Christian deeds had been done, as well as how many dark, disgraceful, wicked ones had been executed, — how many more minds have been reached by the light and truth, the power and peace of the Gospel, as well as how many have fallen by the way, slaves to the baser propensities of our nature.

Such statistics, could they be ascertained, would satisfy the most sceptical, we think, that this modern civilization of our time is not all wrong in principle and spirit; that its vast material agencies are exerting a powerful moral influence in behalf of goodness and truth; that its material enterprises and occupations are underlaid by a strong spiritual faith, and marked by a large and ready disposition to devote a goodly portion of the wealth accumulated by them to noble spiritual purposes. There is room for improvement and progress; no wise efforts in that direction should be staid. That these efforts may be successful, let them be made in a just, reverent, hopeful, joyous spirit, not in a despondent, accusatory, fault-finding spirit.

In the lecture on "David and the Psalms," we have the following beautiful delineation of the character of the great Hebrew poet.

"The *man*. As such, what shall we say of David? A man of genius, sensibility, force, undoubtedly, and also of passion and sin,—a character strangely mingled of heaven and of earth. Is it argued, that, since before his call to the throne Samuel designated him as a 'man after God's own heart,' therefore he must have been perfection? We reply, that the Scripture itself records his guilt and its doom, and, moreover, the words of Samuel, so controverted by letter-bigots and letter-sceptics, amount simply to a statement on the part of the prophet, that David was the providential man best fitted to carry out the Divine plans in the government of the chosen people. Let these word-pugilists settle their difficulty between themselves. We follow the sacred historian in our estimate of the man. We find in him an intellect less profound than expansive, less prone to scientific analysis than to poetical comparison; a fancy unsurpassed in exuberance, and an imagination rivalled only by the elder bards, like Moses and the author of Job, and the later prophets, like Isaiah and Joel. In practical matters, his mind was more distinguished for magnificence and grandeur in the general plan, than for careful prudence in the details. His emotions, his loves and hatreds, stood often in the way of his prudence. He was eminently a man of emotion, and, excepting always his unflinching allegiance to the theocracy, his character was far more one of impulse than of principle. He could love, and he could hate; he could be grateful for kindness years after it was received; he could remember a grudge, even when the gathering shades of the tomb should have brought more ten-

der and sacred thoughts to the soul. In him we see, as never before, an example of religious sensibility, not always governed by religious principle. His heart, like his harp, was ready to vibrate to every breeze of emotion; but the depth and compass of its tones, like those of his harp, appeared only when its strings were touched in praise and thanksgiving, confession and prayer, and breathed the airs of Zion. In force of will, he was remarkable rather for heroic enthusiasm than for sustained fortitude. His great deeds seem, like his lyrics, to have been bursts of emotion. As a soldier, he had not the determined, persevering valor of Joshua and Saul; as a statesman, he sinks far below the majesty of Moses and the dignity of Samuel. He had, however, elements of magnanimity, and these were nowhere more marked than in his taking to himself the blame for an unwarranted act, that drew retribution upon the nation. 'Is it not I that commanded the people to be numbered? Even I it is that have sinned and done evil indeed; but as for these sheep, what have they done? Let thine hand, I pray thee, O Lord, my God, be on me and on my father's house, but not on thy people, that they should be plagued.' — pp. 86, 87.

We cannot better close our notice than by quoting the following passage, which closes the volume, and is an illustration of its whole spirit and purpose.

"A devotee in his cell, after hours of prayer, at last thought that his petitions were granted, and Christ in beatific vision stood before him; but in a moment the convent-bell sounded, and the poor man, almost distracted at leaving his divine visitant thus, rose from his knees at the call of duty, and went to provide for the guest who had just come to the gate for shelter. He did his duty, and then returned to his cell with a heart warm with charity yet heavy with grief. He went back, and lo! there stood that same divine presence, radiant with a still more benign smile, and a voice spoke: 'If thou hadst not left me, I had left thee; and because thou didst leave me at the call of duty, thou hast found me now that thy duty is done.' To the well-doer heaven was nearer than before, and work was the fruit and the inspiration of faith and prayer.

"Even so let Christ and heaven come near, — near in faith and devotion, — near in love and good works. The life of God in the soul will then be the best comment upon the Word of God in Christ." — pp. 268, 269.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Hypatia: or, New Foes with an Old Face. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Jun., Rector of Eversley, Author of "Alton Locke," "Yeast," etc., etc. In two volumes. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 303 and 325.

THE readers of Alton Locke, although many of them were compelled to express in very qualified terms their satisfaction with the book, must have been prepared to look for more and better from the reverend author. The writer who could create a character so striking in itself, and so admirable as a representative of that spirit, believing at once and unbelieving, which rules many minds in the midst of us, a character so fascinating altogether as that of the old book-dealer Mackay, the humble patron of Locke, must needs multiply his creations. We are prepared to say that *Hypatia* fulfils any such implied promise. It is not, properly speaking, a novel; indeed, to an inveterate reader of novels, the plot must seem provokingly simple. But there is no need of looking at it in this light. The book is rather a sketch of life, not as it might have been, but as it was, and it is interesting as a delineation of character and an illustration of modes of thought, ancient at once and modern. The personages are, for the most part, historical. *Hypatia*, as our readers hardly need to be reminded, was a veritable Alexandrian lady, daughter of Theon, a philosopher and mathematician of that city. She was an eminent follower of Plotinus, the Neoplatonist, and presided with great distinction over the Neoplatonic school in Alexandria, during the later years of the fourth and the earlier years of the fifth century. Though she was wise, fair, chaste, and not far from the kingdom of God, she did not in that degenerate time escape the assaults of slander, and became especially obnoxious to the fanatical monks of the city, who believed that through her influence Orestes, the Roman prefect, was estranged from Cyril, the Christian bishop. She died a true martyr to Paganism. The *Christian* mob, instigated, as there is too much reason for believing, by Cyril, a prelate of no enviable reputation, put her to death in one of the churches, and subjected her lifeless remains to the most brutal indignities. Besides the famous bishop of Hippo, Orestes, Arsenius, Peter the Reader, and Synesius, the Platonizing bishop of Pentapolis, are easily recognized, and Amalric, the Amal, son of Odin, is nearly, if not quite, an historic Goth.

Not so much for the sake of satisfying, as in the hope of exciting, the curiosity of our readers, we shall attempt a brief sketch of this very interesting book. The place is Alexandria, the time is the beginning of the fifth century, the *dramatis personæ* are, in general, bishops, philosophers, sceptics, Jews, noble Romans, monks, conquering Goths, the last excessively barbarous, perilous neighbors and street companions, yet partially redeemed by a wonderful *physique* and a certain kind of honor, a motley company and not to be easily marshalled, especially now that they have been shades for more than fourteen centuries. The heroine of the story is of course Hypatia; the hero is Philammon, originally a monk of Scetis, but impelled by a genius, which could not easily be satisfied with the seclusion of a monastery, to see a little of church life in Alexandria, a young man nobly endowed by nature, an "Apollo of the desert." On his way down the Nile, he escapes from a hippopotamus only to fall into the hands of some Goths, who, in company with Pelagia, "the Messalina of Alexandria," and her frail companions, are endeavoring to sail up to some mythic city in the desert. The Goths decide not to kill Philammon, and, as they have grown weary of their voyage, return with him to Alexandria. He finds his Christian brethren and entirely satisfies Cyril, but soon abandons his fanatical companions in disgust, and betakes himself to the school of Hypatia, who seems quite as likely to convert him to Neoplatonism as to be converted by him to Christianity, a purpose which he had nevertheless presumed to cherish. The female philosopher finds the young monk an apt scholar, gifted, honest, healthy-minded, and impressible, a striking contrast to the worldlings, profligates, and sceptics that compose her audience. Indeed, for only one of these, Raphael Aben-Ezra, does she entertain any hope, and he, although there is still a sound spot in his heart, and a little of his hereditary Jewish faith still cleaves to him, is almost utterly sceptical. The Jews are driven from Alexandria by Cyril, Raphael goes with them into voluntary poverty, weary of pleasure, weary of himself and his doubts. Heraclian revolts; Orestes plots to establish himself as Emperor of the South, and amuses Hypatia with the promise that Paganism shall be restored upon condition that she will become his empress. His plot fails, and Hypatia, after having made the most painful sacrifices of religious and moral conviction, finds in her time of trial that no sign will be given to her from the heaven in which she tried to believe. Philammon is disappointed in her, though still he cannot choose but admire and love her great and good qualities. Raphael, meanwhile, having been first recalled to himself by a stroke of nature in his dog, who, poor brute though she was, obeyed a divine law, finds in life a Christianity

times are not as bad, they *seem* as bad, because we judge them by a higher standard, and we have Raphael Aben-Ezras in abundance, who, if not as clever and fascinating, are quite as sceptical, as he and Hypatia. God send them as happy a deliverance ! We ought, perhaps, in recording this approving sentence, to qualify it somewhat by calling attention to a little carelessness in the minor details of the story, and to a looseness of style which is sometimes excessive ; but this hint must suffice, and we should not have ventured it save from a regard to our reputation as critics.

Memoir of ROBERT WHEATON, with Selections from his Writings. Boston : Ticknor, Reed, and Fields. 1854. 16mo. pp. 385.

ROBERT WHEATON, the youngest son of the late Hon. Henry Wheaton, some time Minister at the Court of Berlin, was born in New York on the 5th of October, 1826, and died in Providence on the 9th of October, 1851. His life was, indeed, brief ; but it was long enough to show that he had largely inherited those marked intellectual powers which made his father one of the most accomplished diplomatists in the service of this government, as well as a ripe scholar. Yet it is far more by the purity and integrity of his stainless life, than by the bright promise of his young and vigorous mind, early enriched by elegant culture and foreign travel, that the reader of this volume will be attracted. The touching and beautiful Memoir which his sister has prefixed to the selection from his writings, is a just tribute to his many virtues, and reveals a character of singular sweetness and dignity, which may well serve as a model in many respects.

When he was only a few months old, his father was appointed *Chargé d'Affaires* at the Court of Denmark, and here Robert spent most of his early years and received his first impressions. In 1835 Mr. Wheaton was transferred to the Court of Berlin ; but as that city did not appear to offer the best advantages for his son's education, Robert was sent to Paris, when he was twelve years old, to pursue his studies under better auspices. In this city he continued to reside, until his father's recall by President Polk, in 1846. Whilst at school in Paris, he met with a loss which seems to have thrown a soberer hue over the remainder of his life, and to have ever been a fresh grief to him. In his fourteenth year his only brother, a boy somewhat older than himself, died of scarlet fever, and his subsequent letters show how deeply he was touched by this event. The Rev. Dr. Lowell, of this city, was then in Paris, and often visited the afflicted family. "To the consolation which he so well knew

how to impart, Robert," says his sister, "listened with earnest attention, and from that time the anticipation of another and a happier state of existence was never far from his thoughts."

While the event was yet recent, he wrote to his sister: "Dear sister, let us seek in fraternal love a consolation for this misfortune; let us love each other tenderly, more tenderly than ever, so that, when God demands our souls, we may not have to reproach ourselves with not having loved one another. Let us love our mother, too, and endeavor to please her." Similar expressions of affectionate regard for his friends are to be found in nearly all his letters.

In the spring of 1847, the family returned to this country, after an absence of twenty years; and in the following September young Wheaton went to Cambridge as a law student. Here he devoted himself to his studies with great zeal, and in his hours of leisure wrote much on general topics. In March, 1848, occurred the decease of his father, to whom he was united in the closest bonds of affection, and whose death seemed to render still more painful the early loss of his brother. The feelings which this new sorrow inspired in his youthful breast may be best seen by a short extract from a letter to his mother, written in the following December, on the occasion of her birthday. "You are now," he writes, "in the language of the world, my only *surviving* parent. I am no longer the protected, but the protector. Heaven grant me the force of character, the firmness of purpose and of principle, necessary for this duty. My debt of gratitude to you is too great for me ever to hope to discharge it. Should I be able to spread over your declining years some rays of gladness, my fondest hopes will have been realized, and I shall pursue the journey of life with the consciousness of having wiped away, as far as lay in my power, a few of the tears which the loss of him whom we all mourn must cause you to shed. My heart is full to overflowing."

Upon completing his studies at Cambridge, he entered the law-office of Messrs. R. H. Dana, Jr. and F. E. Parker, in this city, and was subsequently admitted to the Suffolk bar. But the fair prospect of distinction and usefulness which seemed to be opening before him was soon closed by death. Whilst on a visit to his mother, he was seized with a rheumatic fever, which terminated fatally after a short but severe sickness. His last words were a fitting close to a pure and upright life. "Mother," he exclaimed, as he roused himself for the last time to a perception of earthly objects, "mother, read the prayer!" And thus peacefully did his gentle spirit pass home to his Maker.

Though he had spent nearly the whole of his short life amidst the temptations incident to a residence in the great European

capitals, he had yet kept his simplicity of character and freshness of feeling untainted by contact with the great world. In a letter to his mother he says, with charming *naïveté*: "I continue to be on quite intimate terms with —. I believe he is somewhat at a loss to understand that a person who has always lived at courts should be modest and unassuming. Whatever my faults, a desire to associate with great people was never one of them." His love of his family, in particular, seems never to have changed or grown cold, but rather to have strengthened, with advancing years; and his letters, as quoted by his sister, are full of expressions of the tenderest affection. Thus he writes to his mother on Christmas of one year: "To you, what can I give? I feel that nothing can equal my love, or adequately express it. If I have caused you one unnecessary sorrow, one un-called-for tear during the past year, forgive me, and remember only my love." The same sentiment constantly recurs in these familiar and unstudied letters, showing how deeply the love of his home and of those who made it so pleasant a place was implanted in his breast. The general tone of his mind, however, seems to have been sad, and even mournful, though he sometimes rose to more cheerful and hopeful views of the great mysteries of life. "Yes, life is beautiful," were his words on one occasion, "notwithstanding the thorns which wound us on our path, notwithstanding the tombs which open under our feet. Beautiful indeed is life in those moments of faith, when it appears like the entrance to another existence, like the vestibule to the temple of eternity. Beautiful when we do our duty, when we try to make others happy, when we love each other as we have done, and — God grant — may do to our latest breath, and even longer, until that supreme moment when we shall be united in the love of God." In his religious sentiments, Mr. Wheaton was a Unitarian, and both by education and conviction strongly attached to the great truths which constitute the basis of our denominational existence. At one time some of his friends desired that he might prepare himself for the ministry; but, with a modest distrust of his own abilities, he shrank from its labors and its rewards, and determined to give himself to the law.

The selections from Mr. Wheaton's writings, which compose about two thirds of the volume before us, consist principally of articles from the *North American Review*, though our readers will also recognize with pleasure the review of Coquerel's *Experimental Christianity* from a former number of this journal.* They are mostly on historical subjects, and are written with much ability, giving evidence of sound and just views and a highly cultivated mind. Among the most noticeable are the

paper on the Sources of the Divina Commedia, the review of Schmidt's History of the Albigenses, and the article on the Revolution in Prussia. A brief paper on Jasmin, the Barber Poet, though of an inferior order of merit to the others, will also be read with interest.

Memoir of the Life and Character of the RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE, with Specimens of his Poetry and Letters, and an Estimate of his Genius and Talents compared with those of his great Contemporaries. A new Edition, revised and enlarged. By JAMES PRIOR, Esq. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields. 1854. 16mo. pp. 508, 478.

PRIOR's Life of Burke has a well-established reputation, as the best biography of that great political philosopher that has yet appeared. Croly's Life is, in fact, the only memoir of the great statesman that can challenge comparison with it. Superior in some respects, Mr. Croly's work is decidedly inferior to it in others. Both writers were Tories, and both viewed Burke's life and opinions through the colored medium of a strong party feeling. But Mr. Croly's partisanship was much more violent and unreasonable than that of the earlier writer, and scarce a solitary ray of liberal principles illuminates his fierce eloquence. His style, indeed, is far superior to the stiff, formal, and not always correct sentences of Mr. Prior. But his work deals almost wholly with Burke's public life and political principles, and was written to subserve a mere temporary end. On the other hand, a crowning merit in Mr. Prior's work is the prominence which he gives to Burke's private habits and personal friendships. This circumstance in itself would be sufficient to give the preference to that gentleman's Memoir, even if it were not marked by a nearer approach to impartiality and greater elaborateness and minuteness of detail.

Mr. Prior brought to the execution of his task several important qualifications in a biographer. He had a warm appreciation of Burke's unrivalled genius as a political philosopher, and a thorough acquaintance with the productions of his pen. He had made diligent search into the history of every event connected with the great orator's life, and he had had access to a considerable mass of unpublished letters. Of these he made an excellent use; and no part of his volumes will be read with so much interest, as the extracts from Burke's correspondence. But his admiration of his hero and his own partisan prejudices sometimes led him astray. Over that portion of Burke's career which was passed as a leader of the opposition to his Majesty's minis-

ters, he glides hurriedly and with reluctant praise. When Burke, however, inflamed by the prosecution of Hastings and the breaking out of the French Revolution, gave the reins to his fervid imagination, sundered the friendships of early years, and outstripped even Mr. Pitt in his new-born zeal for Toryism, Mr. Prior's admiration knows no bounds. Henceforth Burke usurps the place of the idols of the Tory party in the estimation of the writer; and his life goes down in a splendor that is unobscured by a single cloud. Still, with all our admiration of this great man, we cannot but regard the sentiments of his later years, and the course which he then pursued, as far less worthy of his greatness than his career before the impeachment of Warren Hastings and the destruction of the Bastille had so excited his too fertile imagination.

And yet Burke was confessedly the greatest man of his age, towering above Pitt and Fox as much as they surpassed ordinary men; and his life and works are both fruitful in the lessons of political wisdom. No man, indeed, can be said to be acquainted with English history, or with the most important lessons of political philosophy, who has not made himself acquainted with the life and works of Edmund Burke. Though the shadow of passion and an ungoverned imagination may rest on the close of his career, his works are the greatest storehouse of practical wisdom applied to political questions, that his country has ever offered for the instruction of the world. To them men will always have recourse for their almost boundless treasures of wisdom, their learning and eloquence, their wonderful flights of imagination, and the withering force of their sarcasm, however opposed to any portion of his views may be the judgment of the reader.

A Memoir of the late REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL, D.D., Rector of the Church of the Advent, Boston. By his Father. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1853. 8vo. pp. 528.

SINCE Christendom has been divided into sects, and these sects have been subdivided into parties and coteries, each of them has furnished its type of Christian character for a wider or narrower circle of friends and admirers. We love to study these exhibitions of human nature under the discipline of the real or supposed elements of the Gospel, and we love to read of them when they have become the subjects of biography. Many pleasant and profitable hours have been spent by us in the perusal of this Memoir of Dr. Croswell. That he had the sterling qualities of a Christian and of a most estimable man, we knew before.

But some delicate and tender elements of his character are brought out in his correspondence which could have been recognized only by his most intimate friends. Such kindly and affectionate feelings as are expressed in his letters, and such closeness of filial, fraternal, and friendly sympathies as were manifested by him in his whole career from childhood to his death, are the unmistakable tokens of a Christian heart. We can well conceive how trying, and at the same time soothing, to the feelings of his aged father, was the work of preparing this memorial of such a son. There runs through the book a mingling of delicacy and of dignity, becoming the sacred profession of both father and son, and well suited to engage the confidence of a reader. Only on one point — that which concerns the Bishop of the Episcopalians in this State — can an exception be raised by any one.

The volume affords us no means of judging the late Dr. Croswell through his attainments as a scholar or his power as a preacher. He was heartily devoted to his work as a Christian minister, was especially faithful in the service of the poor and afflicted, and had a sweet gift of poetry, which was in the main consecrated to sacred themes. The respect and affection entertained for him by his most intimate friends are to be taken as more than an offset to the apparent coldness, stiffness, or reserve ascribed to him by some who had but a slight knowledge of him.

We have hinted that there is one portion of the contents of this volume concerning which the opinions of readers will differ, to a degree which will perhaps lead them to question the good taste or discretion of the venerable divine who is its author. It relates to a subject upon which it is evident that much heart-burning has been already endured. The late Dr. Croswell was an extreme ritualist. His convictions, as well as the cast and tone of his sentiments, led him to attach vast importance to the peculiarities which are entitled *High-Churchism*. At a crisis in the affairs of the Episcopalian denomination, when the love and the fear of certain ecclesiastical practices, supposed to have a tendency to Romanism, were developed in the two sections of the body, Dr. Croswell identified himself with the so-called Puseyite party. When he returned to Boston to assume for the second time the care of a church, he introduced certain usages and symbols which in one point of view are of most trivial consequence, but in another point of view are significant of evil to a Protestant. The Bishop refused to go to his church to administer the rite of "Confirmation," because the communion-table looked like an altar, and was surmounted by a cross and "a shelf"; because the minister preached in a white gown instead of a black one, and read prayers not in a reading-desk nor with his face to the peo-

ple. Whenever the above-named rite was desired by candidates in Dr. Croswell's church, a correspondence, for the most part courteously worded, but holding much wounded feeling in suspense, took place between the Bishop and "his presbyter." A bitter strife attached to the issue thus raised. Dr. Croswell was deprived of the just delight that he might have enjoyed in the large number of the candidates which he could present as the fruits of his faithful labors, because some of them went to other bishops for "Confirmation," or refused to receive it from their own Bishop in another church. The father enters warmly into the controversy, and freely uses epithets concerning the Bishop which often exceed in severity those that are found in the letters of the son. Perhaps an indifferent observer may be pardoned for saying, that all which redeems the issue from the merest puerility is the fact, that the Bishop may have viewed the tokens that offended him only as signs of something worse to grow out of them, and that Dr. Croswell and his friends may have been deterred from going farther by the opposition which they encountered. Dr. Croswell says in one of his letters, "We kneel at an angle of forty-five [degrees] towards the end of the altar, exhibiting the profile to most of the congregation." (p. 404.) A very good angle certainly, and quite fit for prayer, if one should happen to take it. But what would an Apostle say concerning the raising of an issue one way or another on such a matter?

But the spirit of ritualism was in the good man, and it seems to have strengthened with his years. He could take no part with Christians of other denominations in any Christian work, or cause of benevolence. He could not even accord with his own brethren in this city and neighborhood: he would not attend their ministerial association. He preferred to wait till the whole world should become High-Churchmen, before he would coöperate with other Christians in good works. He speaks of preaching on the annual Fast Day in Boston, but of studiously avoiding the recognition of it as a day of humiliation. He says (p. 108), "I gave all the services the character which belongs to the festal season." This was because "the Church" gave the season one designation, and "the narrow-minded prejudices of the founders of the Bay State" gave it another. But whence did he derive his liberty of action or judgment in this case? "The Church" of which he writes so glibly, if it means any thing in its connection, means a body which would have silenced him on all occasions; and "those narrow-minded prejudices" of the Bay State made him free even to scoff at the religious institutions of the land to which he owed all civil privileges and blessings.

Again, writing in the conference-room of a church in Philadelphia, he says: "On the desks and seats about me, the principal book is 'Henshaw's Collection of Revival Hymns,' while the Prayer-Books are very scarce. Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who is Henshaw, that his *Collections* should supersede the Collects?" (p. 214.) And we would ask, Whose are the *Collects*? They certainly did not drop from the skies, nor did they come from Jesus or Paul. Perhaps it might be proved that their sources are not one whit more pious or Christian than the sources of "Henshaw's Collections."

The only abatement to the Christian spirit and the edification which are most delightfully ministered to by these pages, is to be charged to the occasional obtrusion of such trumpery as we have just referred to. How a Christian minister, in the full experience of the sins and woes of human life, and with the great commission of his Master to guide him, can lay any stress, and such stress too, on the angle at which he shows his profile in prayer, and upon the little miserable technicalities of ritualism, is to us a problem, — though one hardly worth the solving. We gratefully accord our respect to Dr. Croswell for his devotion in his ministry, and for his private virtues, but his exclusiveness towards even his own brethren, and the narrowness of his religious sympathies, are traits that even zeal and sanctity cannot commend to us.

The Frontier Missionary: a Memoir of the Life of the REV. JACOB BAILEY, A.M., Missionary at Pownalborough, Me., Cornwallis and Annapolis, N. S., with Illustrations, Notes, and an Appendix. By WILLIAM S. BARTLET, A.M., with a Preface by RIGHT REV. GEORGE BURGESS, D.D. Boston: Ide & Dutton. 1853. 8vo. pp. 365.

THE editor of this racy volume has made a very valuable and interesting addition alike to our historical and to our biographical treasures. With admirable judgment, as well as with the best taste and the most careful research, he has wrought together materials which throw light upon many things of high importance, and which present us with the sketch of a somewhat original and peculiar character. Mr. Bartlet has evidently spent much labor on his work, and the results entitle him to the gratitude of his readers. Keeping himself in the background when the subject of the Memoir has left his own words to speak for him, the editor is ready to supply illustrative information as it is needed. His Notes and Appendix show an antiquarian's diligence and a scholar's care. Though he deals with topics which

might call out the feelings of a partisan, both in religion and in politics, he is scrupulously guarded on those points. We have lingered over his pages, which are rich with the memories of other days, and as we have mused upon the scenes which they revive, we have learned something more of the varied experience of human life.

Mr. Bailey was the son of a poor farmer in Rowley in this State. By his own indefatigable exertions and the aid of the minister of the town, he prepared himself for Harvard College, where he graduated in 1755, in the same class with President John Adams. The narrative of his early days, of the straits of his poverty, of his little journeys and of his labors as a school-master, is given almost wholly from his autobiographical papers, and has the charm of an almost primitive or antediluvian recital. Somewhat suddenly, the young man presents himself before us as a Congregational minister, and quite as suddenly as a candidate for Episcopal orders. His account of his poverty-stricken aspect as he came to Boston, of the kindness of his friends in arraying his outer man, of his sufferings on his voyage to England for ordination, and of his experiences there, is a most graphic and quaint sketch from real life unsurpassed by any page of romance. His labors at Pownalborough were cut short by the Revolution. As a Tory, he had his full share in the trials of that obnoxious race. Resuming his work as a missionary of the English Society at Annapolis, he closed his eventful life in a good old age. There was a vein of eccentricity and of humor in the man, which cannot fail to excite a frequent smile as one reads his journals. He appears to have been an exemplary minister, and to have borne with patience his share in the labors of a toilsome life.

The Works of JOSEPH ADDISON, including the whole Contents of Bishop Hurd's Edition, with Letters and other Pieces not found in any previous Collection; and Macaulay's Essay on his Life and Works. Edited, with Critical and Explanatory Notes, by GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE. In five volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co. 1853. Vol. I. 12mo. pp. lxxviii. and 500.

WE hail with much satisfaction the appearance of this volume the earnest of the early issue in the same handsome form of all the works of the first and best of English Essayists. The accomplished editor is well qualified for the task which he has here undertaken. So long as Addison continues to be praised, it stands to reason that he ought to be read. The opportunity to

obtain all his works, which embrace a far greater variety of subjects than those who are not familiar with them may imagine, should secure a wide diffusion of them in this most acceptable form, and should show its good fruits in the style and culture of the growing race of writers among us. That race must be a large one, and it would tend much to the improvement of the coming generation if these volumes could be circulated all over the country. The illustrative materials which the editor has brought together serve to give the reader a running commentary on the author's own text. We shall recur to this subject again, as other volumes appear.

Memoir of PIERRE TOUSSAINT, born a Slave in St. Domingo.

By the Author of "Three Experiments in Living," etc. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1854. 16mo. pp. 124.

THE main facts in the story of this good man, which Mrs. Lee has here related with much care and skill, have been recently the theme of frequent reference in the newspapers. Their brief hints will doubtless attract many readers to this volume, and they will be richly repaid in its perusal. The principal Abolition paper in this country has raised some objections to an occasional expression by the authoress of her own opinions on matters upon which it is very difficult for any one to speak wisely. But this does not impair the value of the narrative, which centres wholly upon the life and character of a humble man, whom God endowed with many excellences, and who acquired and displayed others under circumstances of trial and buffeting.

The Hearth-Stone: Thoughts upon Home-Life in our Cities.

By SAMUEL OSGOOD. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 290.

THE title which the author has given to these fresh and vigorous papers is the most expressive and becoming verbal ligature within which he could have bound them. We grieve that the *Hearth-Stone*, both in its literal sense and in that in which Mr. Osgood uses it as a symbol, is losing some of its associations and attractions, and is passing apparently into desuetude. The scene in the *Cotter's Saturday Night* could not have transpired over a hole in the floor called a furnace-flue, any more than *Gray's Elegy* could have been written in one of our modern fancy cemeteries. The *Hearth-Stone* is the symbol of all those precious and delightful truths and lessons which Mr. Osgood here

connects with it. In a free and graceful style, ranging from deep solemnity to the most genial and lively tone, as befits his range of subjects, he gives utterance to wise thoughts on holy things, and homely truths. His volume will find many warm hearts to which it will address itself. An eminently Christian tone breathes through it, and where religion does not directly use its own words, it speaks its own pure and benevolent lessons, only occasionally administering its rebukes or warnings.

Familiar Sketches of Sculpture and Sculptors. By the Author of "Three Experiments in Living," etc. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1854. In two volumes. 16mo. pp. 239, 230.

THESE volumes contain a sketch of the history of the sculptor's art, in ancient and modern times, with personal memorials of its most distinguished disciples, of both sexes, not forgetting our own Miss Hosmer. The subject is certainly a most attractive one, and the materials for its treatment are rich beyond stint, whether they are to be put in a form for young persons or for the mature in life. We suppose that Mrs. Lee had in view chiefly a work which should be suited to general readers, — that large class who ought to be thankful that so many pens are busy for them. We commend her volumes highly, not for any originality of research or of critical information, but as containing valuable information on a delightful theme.

History of the Apostolic Church, with a General Introduction to Church History. By PHILIP SCHAFF, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg, Pa. Translated by EDWARD D. YEOMANS. New York: Charles Scribner. 1853. 8vo. pp. 684.

PROFESSOR SCHAFF was a pupil of Neander, but he does not make his distinguished teacher his model in all things pertaining to their common task. We find more of dogmatism, sometimes too in a hard and sharp form, in the pages of the pupil than in those of his master. Amid the many excellences of this work which we would gratefully accord to it, we are constantly struck with the unnecessary obtrusion of Calvinistic formulas and the catch phrases of Trinitarianism. Having notified our readers of that offensive element in the volume, we can commend it to them on the score of its many merits. In laying out his ground for the

treatment of each part of his subject, the author seeks to find a methodical arrangement, not in any fanciful devices of his own mind, but in the simple development of the subject itself, each leading theme or topic being made to suggest its own importance through its relation to others. The whole material for an elaborate Church history is arranged by him under five divisions, naturally distinguished by dates or marked events, and the full completion of his plan, which embraces our own generation, will require nine generous volumes. This volume is abundantly filled with a review of the Apostolic Church. We shall take pleasure in a more extended criticism of the author's labors.

The Priest and the Huguenot : or, Persecution in the Age of Louis XV. Part I.—A Sermon at Court. Part II.—A Sermon in the City. Part III.—A Sermon in the Desert. From the French of L. BUNGENER. In two volumes. Boston : Gould & Lincoln. 1853. 12mo. pp. 408, 480.

THE great and well deserved popularity of "The Preacher and the King," by the same author, will attract multitudes of readers to this, which is a still more able work. As it is now a well-understood condition, that we must have more or less of fiction even in our most truthful histories, it matters little to us as to the precise amount or form in which that fiction shall be mingled. M. Bungener has a way of his own, and a very brilliant and agreeable way too, of working up the incidents of historic verity with dialogue and narrative, one of every two of his interlocutors representing stern fact, while the other is not always an imaginative character. In his former work, the court of Louis XIV. made the centre around which he grouped the characters of his story. The reign of Louis XV. is portrayed, under many of its bearings upon the interests of religion, in these two volumes, but the field is far wider than that of a court, and the tale embraces vastly more of variety in character and incident. The author is occasionally oracular and sententious, and drops maxims often of exceeding terseness and wisdom. His skill in sketching the personalities of men of mark is admirably illustrated in these pages. With an evident superiority to the acerbities of religious disputation, M. Bungener does even-handed justice to the virtues which were possible under the training of the Roman Church, and gives to Father Bridaine a portraiture worthy of his fame. When we are transported from Paris to the Cevennes, the mountain air raises our spirits and our faith. Our sympathies are intensely enlisted in behalf of the Huguenot martyrs, and we

are called to a renewed glow of reverential admiration towards the constancy with which the Gospel has enabled millions to bear the dread penalties which have been the price of its knowledge and hopes. We close our notice of this admirable work by assuring those who have the privilege of its perusal in store, that they will find in it food for thought and deep sentiment such as few of the publications of the day will supply.

Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honorable SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH. Edited by his Son, ROBERT JAMES MACKINTOSH. From the second London Edition. In two volumes. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 8vo. pp. 499, 525.

Memoirs and Correspondence of FRANCIS HORNER, M. P. Edited by his brother, LEONARD HORNER, Esq., F.R.S. In two volumes. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 8vo. pp. 554, 575.

WE announced some time ago the promised American edition of these two admirable works, and have now the pleasure of noting the fulfilment of the promise. The two works should never be separated from each other's companionship. Indeed, to complete the effect of their best influence upon an appreciative reader, they ought to be united in a trio with the *Life and Letters of Sir Samuel Romilly*. What honored and eminent men, distinguished in talent, high in the esteem of the good, and followed by the praise due to unsullied purity of life, were those three British lawyers!

In these four volumes now before us are pages of profound wisdom, conveyed through channels which give it a grateful access to the mind of the reader. The noble purposes which both Mackintosh and Horner recognized were such as actuated but few of their contemporaries, and their characters are therefore worthy of close study. Sir James, writing after the death of Governor Duncan, at Bombay, says: — "Sunday. I went to the funeral sermon. The principal part consisted of some arguments for the immortality of the soul. In the eloquence of Cicero, of Fénelon, and Addison, the reasons in behalf of this venerable and consolatory opinion had appeared strong and sound; but in the preacher's statement, they shrank into a mortifying state of meagreness. Contemplations passed in my mind which I should be almost afraid to communicate to any creature." A wise hint to preachers to beware how they reason on such themes.

After reading the beatitudes Sir James writes: — "Of their transcendent excellence I can find no words to express my ad-

miration and reverence. 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.' At last the divine speaker rises to the summit of moral sublimity: 'Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake.' For a moment, O Teacher Blessed! I taste the unspeakable delight of feeling myself to be better. I feel as in the days of my youth that 'hunger and thirst after righteousness,' which long habits of infirmity and the low concerns of the world have contributed to extinguish." What a counsel towards charity in judging others is wrapped in this frank confession: — "I am sure I should not esteem my own character in another person."

We should add, that in this American edition of the Memoirs of Horner, numerous additional letters are inserted, not found in the English edition. Elegant typography and fair paper have been well bestowed on these noble works, and they will grace the library of a man of any profession.

Peruvian Antiquities. By MARIANO EDWARD RIVERO and JOHN JAMES VON TSCHUDI. Translated into English from the original Spanish. By FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D.D., LL.D. New York: George P. Putnam & Co. 1853. 8vo. pp. 360.

THE translator, being engaged upon a general work on the antiquities of America, has been led to spend some time upon the original of the volume before us, as dealing with one element of his extensive researches. He has thought it worthy of being presented to English readers, that it may serve to inform them of the present course of opinion and investigation on a theme which underlies the history of this Continent. Dr. Hawks modestly shuns the mention on the title-page of the valuable additions which he has made from his own investigations, and has incorporated into the volume. Traditions, surviving monuments, existing customs, and learned though conflicting theories, are here put to service, that they may throw light upon a perplexed subject and clear up its mysteries.

The Life of WILLIAM PINKNEY. By his Nephew, the REV. WILLIAM PINKNEY, D.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1853. 8vo. pp. 407.

THE honored subject of this memoir left behind him but few of those documents which are of use to the biographer in authenticating his praise of a great and good man. The high offices

which he filled and the important functions which he discharged, at home and abroad, gave him an eminence among his contemporaries which a noble character helped to exalt. Some lively letters written from abroad, and a few political and legal papers, are turned to the account of the biographer, who certainly on his own part lacks none of the enthusiastic admiration for his subject which is said to qualify one for such a work. The career of Mr. Pinkney was comparatively short. Though his father had been a zealous Tory, the son, when he grew to manhood under changed circumstances, became as zealous a patriot. If we were to press a critical judgment upon this volume, we might suggest that its warmth of eulogy is somewhat excessive, and that we should have gladly received some pages more, if written with a little more calmness and occupied with such details of private life as greatly enrich the biography of an eminent or excellent man.

Life of BENJAMIN ROBERT HAYDON, Historical Painter, from his Autobiography and Journals. Edited and compiled by TOM TAYLOR, of the Inner Temple, Esq. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo. pp. 537, 527.

THE contents of the three costly volumes of the English edition of this work are here offered in a cheap form to a larger circle of readers. Haydon was not a lovable, hardly a praiseworthy character. With a most impulsive and obstinate nature and an overweening estimate of his own talents, yet with a resolute diligence, which sought to fulfil his own high aims, his life was a painful conflict throughout. Though an artist's experience is generally burdened with many trials, springing from the inappreciativeness of society and heightened by the keenness of sensibility which characterizes the tribe, some of the eminent in that profession and many of its indifferent performers have enjoyed a fair share of the common delights of life. Haydon enjoyed nothing. We meet on every page of his Autobiography the trace of some morbid sentiment, and the usual disappointments of hopes resting upon patronage sadden the whole narrative, making the dread conclusion of suicide not unexpected by us. There is, however, a great deal of pleasant gossip in the volumes, with much freedom of personality, making good reading of the sort, but requiring more reserve of judgment by us than the writer himself practised.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co. have commenced the republication of the Works of the Elder British Dramatists, in the style in which they were issued by Moxon, of London, a handsome volume in large octavo. The first volume contains the Works of Ben Jonson, with Gifford's Memoir. Scattered through the writings of this man of a rugged genius and of a kindly heart are many gems which sparkle more in their own setting, where the writer placed them, than when culled out in our books of quotations.

Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co. have now issued sixteen volumes of their beautiful edition of the British Poets, and will continue to prosecute the undertaking, with a reasonable assurance that the elegance and cheapness of the series will secure the popularity which it deserves. The last author is Milton, in three volumes.

Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, & Co. have published "Popular Legends of Brittany, an English version of Sonvestre's 'Foyer Breton,' from a German Translation by Heinrich Bode. By a Lady." (16mo. pp. 183.) That these Legends, originally written in French, and then translated into German, and now turned into English, may well be entitled "Popular," the facts of the case are sufficient evidence. For ourselves, we do not much affect this fabulous form of literature; but we suppose that children very soon learn to make still another *translation* of the page, in whatever language they may happen to read it, turning its imaginations into realities, and finding facts and morals for real life in the fictions of fanciful beings and incidents.

Messrs. Gould & Lincoln have published "Noah and his Times: embracing the Consideration of various Inquiries relative to the Antediluvian and Earlier Postdiluvian Periods, with Discussions of several of the Leading Questions of the Present Day. By the Rev. J. Munson Olmstead, M.A." (12mo. pp. 413.) This volume is one of a class of doubtful value, well meant in design, but dealing with matters on which speculation must stand in the place of knowledge. There are vastly more questions than answers in it. Every conceivable inquiry that curiosity or fancy can raise concerning its subject-matter is here presented, and the author has shown an admirable diligence in seeking out such matters and in giving the opinions of others about them. But, after all, what can we know about them? The author asks, for instance, whether Noah was present at the building of the Tower of Babel. We would suggest, as helping to decide the question in the negative, that, if he had been, he would probably have advised the substitution of a good, stout vessel, to be preserved under a ship-house, for the proposed tower. His own experience would certainly have looked that way.

"The Religions of the World and their Relations to Christianity.

By Frederick Denison Maurice, M.A." (16mo. pp. 262.) We are glad to have this reprint of the third revised London edition of the Boyle Lectures of this distinguished divine of the Church of England. We read them a few years ago with pleasure and profit. The author, in his office of Divinity Professor in King's College, London, is now brought before the public as a victim of ecclesiastical proceedings, on account of alleged heresy on the doctrine of future retribution.

"The Christian World Unmasked. By John Berridge, A.M. With a Life of the Author, by the Rev. Thomas Guthrie, D.D." (16mo. pp. 207.) This piece of quaint and homely divinity was worthy of a reprint. Though the author had the culture and the fame of a finished scholar, this little dialogue of his has all the rough strength and unpolished point of Bunyan, with some of the wit of Fuller.

Messrs. Dayton & Wentworth have published "Happy Nights at Hazel Nook: or, Cottage Stories. By Harriet Farley." (16mo. pp. 256.) This pretty book of fancies and fables, with its bright pictures, is a timely contribution, at this season, to the happiness of children at home. If they are allowed to select their own presents, many of them will lay hold upon it.

Messrs. John P. Jewett & Co. have published "Similitudes, by Lucy Larcom," (16mo, pp. 103,) an exquisite little volume, filled with gentle and refined lessons, drawn in a somewhat pensive spirit, from familiar phrases and emblems. Its delicate engravings are in keeping with its text.

The same firm have issued "The Convent and the Manse. By Hyla." (16mo. pp. 242.) As the title implies, the book contains a contrasted representation of life, and the effects on character of the two courses of existence suggested by the Roman and the Protestant religious dwelling.

Publications of the Messrs. Harper of New York.

As we are making up our list of works most worthy of mention, the newspaper accounts of the disastrous conflagration in New York, which reduced to ashes the gigantic establishment of the Brothers Harper, have given us a fresh appreciation of the enormous amount of instruction and amusement which that firm has been the medium of imparting to readers over the whole length and breadth of this land. They have flooded the country with valuable publications, and it is impossible to calculate the sum of good thus wrought. The enterprise which they have heretofore exhibited is a warrant that, whatever be the amount of their present pecuniary loss, they will soon resume — we know not that they will intermit even for one day — their amazing activity in preparing food for the mind. We owe to them, from our boyhood upward, the resources which have engaged many of our best-spent hours. Our sympathy in their misfortune is but little to offer them, but we cannot withhold the expression of it. Among their most recent publications, which have accumulated upon us beyond our ability to peruse them, we have the following: —

"History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena: from the Letters and Journals of the late Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe, and Official Documents not before made Public." Edited by William

Forsyth. (In two volumes. 12mo. pp. 633, 679.) The work in its English edition is calling out much criticism abroad. The custodian of Bonaparte, as Governor of St. Helena, should be able to tell the truth on many-points concerning which the numerous biographers and journalists are at issue. We shall read the volumes with a disposition to accept their statements.

"Louis XVII. His Life — His Suffering — His Death. The Captivity of the Royal Family in the Temple. By A. de Beauchesse. Translated and edited by W. Hazlitt, Esq. Embellished with Vignettes, Autographs, and Plans." (In two volumes. 12mo. pp. 432, 480.) Doubtless the reprint of this authentic account of a distinguished victim of state intrigue was suggested by the excitement caused by the articles in Putnam's Magazine, relating to the claims of the Rev. Eleazer Williams to be the Dauphin here commemorated.

"Memoirs of John Abernethy, F.R.S. With a View of his Lectures, Writings, and Character. By George Macilwain, F.R.C.S." (12mo. pp. 427.) The current anecdotes related of this gruff and eccentric physician, as well as his reputed skill and distinguished professional renown, afford good materials for a biographer, which seem to have been well used in this volume.

Two small volumes, the one entitled "History of the Insurrection in China, with Notices of the Christianity, Creed, and Proclamations of the Insurgents. By MM. Callery and Ivan. Translated from the French, with a Supplementary Chapter, narrating the most Recent Events. By John Oxenford," (16mo, pp. 301,) — and the other entitled "The Czar and the Sultan: or Nicholas and Abdul Medjid. Their Private Lives and Public Actions. By Adrian Gilson. To which is added, The Turks in Europe: their Rise and Decadence. By Francis Bouvet," (24mo, pp. 195,) — are occupied with themes in which wars and rumors of war have quickened the popular interest. The books will be sure of readers.

Redfield, of New York, has a most busy press, nor does he confine it to one species or form of literature. His books are of a popular character generally, and the rapidity with which they follow each other proves that they do not cumber his shelves, but must find their way over a wide region. Among his recent publications, we have before us the following: —

"The Yemassee: a Romance of Carolina. By W. Gilmore Simms, Esq." (12mo. pp. 454.) This is a revision of a delightful work which has been a favorite in our literature for nearly a score of years.

"Minnesota and its Resources; to which are appended, Camp-fire Sketches; or, Notes of a Trip from St. Paul to Pembina and Selkirk Settlement, on the Red River of the North. By J. Wesley Bond." (12mo. pp. 361.) We have here reliable information, given in a spirited and concise way, upon a region which is drawing many hearts, as it has already drawn to itself many feet. Mr. Bond electrifies his readers with his own enthusiasm, and though some of his predictions seem bold, he may live to see them realized.

"A Month in England, by Henry T. Tuckerman," (12mo, pp. 243,) contains nine very lively essays, which, so far from being a mere record of sight-seeing, are enriched with a suggestive wisdom, and with a graceful moralizing upon some aspects of humanity. The paper on "Lions"

deals vigorously with the "Uncle Tom" mania, and that on "Art" could have come only from a versatile and highly cultivated mind.

"Life in the Mission, the Camp, and the Zenáná, or Six Years in India, by Mrs. Colin Mackenzie," (in two volumes, 12mo, pp. 342, 319,) is a work of sterling value, containing sketches from unfamiliar scenes, and from strange phases of human life. Any fireside reader may learn from its pages of some sorts of character and some incidents of which he has never dreamed as being realized on this planet.

"Western Character, or Types of Border Life in the Western States. By J. L. McConnell. With Illustrations by Darley." (12mo. pp. 378.) These "Characters" are, the Indian, the Voyager, the Pioneer, the Ranger, the Regulator, the Justice of the Peace, the Peddler, the Schoolmaster, and the Politician. The idea of drawing these portraits was a very happy one, and it has been most skilfully executed. The author might have written half a dozen romances from the materials which he has here presented in a matter-of-fact way. There is a charming verisimilitude in the sketches; they are vigorously drawn, and are strikingly characteristic of Western life.

"Art and Industry, as represented in the Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, New York, 1853-4. Showing the Progress and State of the various Useful and Aesthetic Pursuits. From the New York Tribune. Revised and edited by Horace Greeley." (12mo. pp. 386.) This volume, which grew without being made, is a very convenient and a very sufficient manual, alike an inventory and a description and criticism of the articles now on exhibition at New York.

OBITUARY.

MADAM RUTH EMERSON. — Fifty years ago, Rev. William Emerson, minister of the First Church in Boston, was a prominent man in the religious instruction and the literary enterprises of the town. He was of an active spirit, bent upon doing something considerable in his place and time. But his time was appointed to be short. In the midst of his plans and honorable labors, he died, in 1811, at the age of forty-two, leaving in widowhood the excellent lady who has now followed him, at a little more than double that number of years. She was born in Boston, November 9th, 1768, the daughter of Mr. John Haskins, and died in Concord, her husband's birthplace, aged eighty-five years and one week.

Mr. Emerson's death left her with the care of six children, five of them sons, of whom the oldest was yet at school. In that year of her bereavement, such a heavy, responsible, and precarious charge seemed to the eyes of many persons to cast upon her an increased burden of trial. But she showed herself equal to those anxious circumstances. She knew how to exercise a prudent forethought, economy, and self-denial; and her position and personal worth raised around her many friends. Four of her five sons she carried through Harvard College, where they all distinguished themselves. They were the joy and pride of her widowed life. They were more than her jewels. They were evidences to the world of her motherly wisdom and faithfulness. Of

these, Edward Bliss and Charles Chauncy not only carried away the first honors of the University, but attracted public admiration as very few such young leaders do. They both gave the highest promise of eminence, and both died young, two years apart from each other. The eyes of the writer fill, as he remembers their eloquent faces, and repeats those affecting lines of their dirge: —

“The winding Concord gleamed below,
Pouring as wide a flood
As when my brothers, long ago,
Came with me to the wood.

“I touch this flower of silken leaf,
Which once our childhood knew;
Its soft leaves wound me with a grief
Whose balsam never grew.”

It might not seem delicate in us to speak of the other two, and we will add but a word. The elder is a counsellor at New York, and has been a judge, — beloved wherever he is known, and universally confided in. The other has the least of his praises in his fame. We should not know where to find a nobler and gentler spirit.

The family was not broken up till 1826. Mrs. Emerson then accepted the pressing invitation of the venerable Doctor Ripley, of Concord, to make his house her home, thus supplying the place of his deceased daughter, who was her husband's half-sister. In 1835, a new home, and her last earthly one, was found in the family of her son, with whom, indeed, she had resided for several years before, though not in the same dwelling. “Never was person more blest in natural temper,” says one who knew, “more calm, amiable, self-respecting, self-helping.” She was a woman of great patience and fortitude, of the serenest trust in God, of a discerning spirit, and a most courteous bearing; one who knew how to guide the affairs of her own house, as long as she was responsible for that, with the sweetest authority; and who knew how to give the least trouble and the greatest happiness, after that authority was resigned. Both her mind and her character were of a superior order, and they set their stamp upon manners of peculiar softness and natural grace and quiet dignity. Her sensible and kindly speech was always as good as instruction; her smile, though it was ever ready, was a reward. Her dark, liquid eyes, from which old age could not take away the expression, will be among the remembrances of all on whom they ever rested. Her Christian faith, and all the dispositions which it nourishes, were her support to the end of her life. Her death was hastened at last by a calamity that often befalls the aged, the fracture of the neck of the thigh-bone, — a part which is apt to become thin and brittle with time. This sad accident confined her long to her bed, and gave large room for the exercise of her meekness and constancy.

“*Spiritus hæres sit patris quæ tristia nescit.*”

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
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ART. I. — THE BIBLE, INSPIRED AND INSPIRING.

THE question of the inspiration of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures is one of those great moral problems, which never are, but always are to be, solved. It was discussed in the earliest, and probably will be in the latest ages. For it is in part an historical inquiry, and different principles of historical judgment will lead to different conclusions. It is an intellectual and spiritual question, and therefore all the complexities of mental culture and moral character will come into play, and determine each person to his result. But perchance new words will not be thrown away on such a rich and sublime theme, pertaining to the point where the mind of God has connected itself with the mind of man. To-day, as in the morning prime of the Church, when learned fathers mused and wrote, the fresh dew rests upon it, and glistens bright to heaven. Ever new, as ever old, the march of human affairs, the novel experiences of the race, the arrival of new geniuses, and the successive crises of Christianity, cannot drain dry of interest to every conscientious mind the magnificent question.

Man still asks, and will for ever ask, as if it were too good news to be true, *Has* the Infinite Intelligence in any sense *spoken*? Is there a *Word* of God? Is there

a whisper of the Eternal Wisdom, a breath of the All-brooding Love? And if there is, is it worthy of its amazing origin, and fit for its glorious mission? Have the serene heavens articulated to the ear of the laboring Earth their lofty truths, and explained her dark secret? Has this little globe, where man sins in haste and repents at leisure, in all its revolutions through boundless space, ever gazed on the golden shores of immortality? Or, has no other light ever fallen from the sky but that of sun, moon, and stars; no other voice spoken in the great silence above, than that of the deep-toned thunder; and no other spirit stirred in the bosom of man than his own restless heart? The ear of Mercy suffers not the cry of the young ravens to go unheard; has it not caught as faithfully "the still, sad music of humanity," and vibrated with answering compassion? In reply to such interrogations, we answer, in the first place, generally, Yes; there *is* a *Word* of God, more articulate than the lessons of the creation; the Highest has spoken, not with the accents of a mortal tongue, but by the revelation of wisdom and love, less clearly unfolded in the law by Moses, but shining forth in full effulgence in the grace and truth of Jesus Christ.

But as soon as we advance beyond this general proposition, we alight upon a hotly contested arena of theological warfare, where several theories find their several champions. First, we have the doctrine of the plenary verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, or of the major part of them, and generally held by the Trinitarian churches. According to this view, the sacred writers were amanuenses to the Holy Ghost, to record whatever was dictated to them, word by word, and sentence by sentence. *The New Church*, or Swedenborgians, hold a similar theory, modified by the doctrine of an internal sense, and correspondences, and also by the rejection of the historical books of the Old Testament, and the Epistles of the New, as uncanonical. The Roman Church adheres to a literal and infallible inspiration of the books of the Bible; but then the truth thus conveyed is only to be administered in homœopathic doses to the mass of mankind, as they are able to bear it, under the lock and key of St. Peter, and his unerring successors in the papal chair. The belief in *natural* inspiration, — the inspira-

tion of truth and love given to every man, the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, but given to some more than others, shining more clearly in Moses and in Christ, in David and Paul, than in others, but shining also in Socrates and Seneca, — this belief is extensively diffused in Germany, and has strong advocates in England and America. By this rule all inspiration is of one and the same kind, and differs only in degree. But the doctrine we prefer is what may be called a moral inspiration; special, miraculous, *supernatural*, but not *unnatural*; above reason, but not irrational; a spiritual even more than an intellectual afflatus, vouchsafed in different degrees according to the age and its wants, from the baptism of the cloud to that of water, and thence to that of fire and the Holy Spirit, the dove and the cloven tongues. But according to this view, the Bible itself is not the identical inspiration, but a record of inspirations; a history, a monument, of that golden age, when the blind Earth, after all her far, solemn voyages around the universe, put as it were into port, saw a vision of angels from the heavenly hills, and heard as the mighty sound of many waters the voice of her Sovereign.

We would remark, before commencing the argument in favor of any one of these theories, that this multifarious state of the question does not stagger our faith in the speciality of inspiration, and its uncounted value to mankind. For all great spiritual subjects must lie from the nature of the case in indefinite and wavering outlines upon the general mind. Some will draw the circle here, others there. God, Jesus Christ, the soul, duty, truth, immortality, are all subject to this imperfect conception, and conflicting realization, and degrees of faith. Some ask, What precisely is inspiration? How much of it is in the Scriptures, or in particular books? What is the exact limit where the natural ceases, and the supernatural begins? We cannot tell any more than we can say exactly what reason, what genius, is. These points are in litigation as well as that of inspiration. One man says, genius is self-excitement; another, that it is the power of lighting its own fire; another, that it is transcendental intuition; and yet another, that genius is study; it is that in the mind which

studies. But these various definitions cannot destroy our faith in the gift of God called genius, however hard it may be to define it. The doctrine of inspiration, or of supernatural genius, like the rest of its class, is neither definable, nor demonstrable, by a multiplication, but by a moral, table.

Some one has said, that many men are convinced, but few are persuaded; the one being more exclusively a mental, and the other a combined mental and moral state. The fact of inspiration is based on impregnable intellectual grounds, but full justice is not done to it, until it makes its appeal to the deep spiritual experiences and moral sentiments of our being. "Spiritual things are spiritually discerned." "In his light we see light." "He that doeth his will shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God," or not. It is all the better, not the weaker, for this class of truths, that they cannot be decided by Euclid and the blackboard, but address the whole living man through the entire range of his faculties, and put to the test every drop of his manhood, be it in head, or heart, or hand. Give us, we say, these moral questions, which inclose in their discussion education, character, life, conscience, as well as bold thought; for their agitation does us more good than other questions can by their settlement. Welcome the themes that overcome us with a new emotion, break the rusty chains of monotony, and lead us up to a mount of mystic Transfiguration. With human beings in every conceivable attitude toward the Infinite and Eternal, from defiant rebellion to adoring trust, how should any rigid uniformity of belief as to the nature, quantity, or mode of that aid by which God assists his striving children be possible? That must be a poor and small, not a well-nigh boundless question, which can be solved with absolute certainty, can be put into the scales and weighed with a pound of tea, or set down upon the slate and worked out by the rule of three. We make these remarks because the tendency of our material times is to be impatient of moral uncertainties and contingencies, and to call nothing true which cannot be proved, and nothing good which will not pay. Better the reign of the schoolmen again, than that our vast and varied being should be shrivelled up to the materialism

of business, or to the mere mechanics and mathematics of science. The elements which enter into this single question of inspiration are subject to the laws of two worlds. Both poles look towards an infinitude; one on the side of immortal man, and the other on the side of the Eternal God.

Then, again, in their use as well as their nature, it is all the better that moral problems, such as the one under consideration, do not, like the forty-fifth proposition, annihilate choice, and extort assent. That cannot be the greatest of questions which can be settled in this world. The Supreme Intelligence has not with his revelations sought to override the soul's birthright of freedom, but has tenderly respected the fearful play of the human will, as a privilege incalculably dear and valuable. Inspiration does not become demonstration or infallibility. But the Church of Rome, for example, misunderstands human nature as much as she transcends her own sacred office, when she padlocks the mouth of discussion, and excommunicates all who do not bow in compliance with her own assumed exemption from error. She, a mortal Church, undertakes to do that which the Eternal One himself forbore to do out of his regard to man's moral freedom. But by inflicting a mortal wound upon reason, she has sentenced not man alone, but herself, to irrationality. She decrees that science, literature, and theology shall not move in this moving universe, and the retribution is sure as doom, that she herself shall be tied to the dead past, and die with it. Other bodies of Christians have sought to establish the same eternity for their fragmentary *ism*, and to shut the doors on all progress. But not in such wise has the wisdom from above been given to the family of man. The Infinite does not descend in fire from heaven to consume with his brightness the finite. The truths of inspiration are not refrigerators and silencers, but awakeners, of the intellect and the heart. Nothing is fixed, nothing final; ends become means, conclusions premises, to lead on and up to higher ends and nobler results, to God, to immortality, to the eternity of eternities. Hence, though above man so high, the Inspired One respects him, and teaches him to respect himself: "I speak as to wise men, judge ye what I say; why even of yourselves judge ye not

what is right?" The Scriptures are so wonderfully given, as to be an unfailing fount of wisdom, and yet they do not play the tyrant over the nature they were commissioned to redeem. Thus the Infinite gives, thus the finite receives in kind, wisdom, truth, love without end. Virtue under this system is no chain, but a deliverance from all chains, — perfect freedom, perfect joy. While every Christian must say with the deepest humility, "By the grace of God I am what I am"; he will equally recognize that other hemisphere of truth, "Ask and it shall be given you, seek and ye shall find." For the Most High has delegated to his child the awful trust to some extent of self-creation, with its tremendous risks and its superlative happiness.

We would not dogmatize then on the subject of inspiration, or say that our theory is the only one consistent with the best influence of the Scriptures upon the inner and outer life, for we do not believe that the Great God has narrowed to such confines the flowing streams of his spirit. Before whom doth not his light arise? Nevertheless, while we would not dogmatize, we are entirely and earnestly persuaded that wrong notions of the nature, extent, and method of divine aid blight with a killing mildew many of the fair blossoms of Gospel promise. For the exact fact, reality, truth, is always a million times better than any error, however moderate, or seemingly innocent. The distance between error and truth cannot be measured by any arithmetic of ours. Terrible evils in the long range of the future may be coiled up in the serpent eggs of some insignificant falsities of to-day. Good Christians do verily grow towards perfection under every variety of spiritual cultivation; but then the proposition stands for ever that the best method is the best, and that it is to be sought with the whole heart, soul, mind, and strength, as we love our Maker.

But one of the most common and fatal sources of error in regard to inspiration, as to all spiritual matters, is the inclination to run to extremes in opinion, and in no country more than America has this tendency been accelerated by the surrounding forces of society. It is an age of haste. We precipitate ourselves with the momentum of gravitation on whatever we undertake, and

apply our minds to moral and political subjects as fiercely as our axes to the ancient forests. Americans like strong doctrines and strong laws. The medium, which Horace pronounced most safe, is too tame for their exasperated genius. The law of extras and ultras is in the ascendant. Hence, remarkable results follow. They whet the five points of Calvin to their utmost sharpness, or break them off altogether. They raise the revival system to a white heat, and glory in putting their converts through quick. One distinguished divine declares Christianity to be a failure, and another alleviates the irrational dogma of original sin by the supposition of a preëxistent state. Hell has been stormed and carried by assault by one denomination, and the Devil himself unceremoniously reduced to a nonentity. Extreme individualism is crumbling up already broken sects into still smaller fragments, as if division were the only fundamental rule. Fanaticism knows no stop until it invents a new style of Mahometanism, and plants a new Mecca for the faithful in the valley of Utah. Rationalism drives on full tilt until it lands on the cloud banks of Pantheism. "That bourne whence no traveller returns" is now visited twenty times of an evening, and a railroad is not more thronged with comers and goers. The truth is, our young blood boils too hotly in the veins to give us the grace of strong, serene life. We are eager, rush headlong, go the whole, do not discriminate, and prefer smart, brilliant paradoxes to sound, moderate truths that are not startling. Nowhere on the planet does the moral pendulum oscillate with a wider sweep from side to side, because nowhere else are the faculties of the whole man mustered, as here, to the conflicts of politics, morals, science, and theology. These extravaganzas are more hopeful than harmful, for they show that the dead and buried souls of men have heard "the trump of resurrection"; and though they stagger awhile in their grave-clothes, as did Lazarus at the broken tomb, they shall soon hear a commanding voice of the Master, "Loose them; let them go."

To apply these remarks to the matter before us;—we are satisfied, from the best inquiry and observation we can make, that a large number of persons of education and intelligence are out-and-out rationalists. The

exaggerated statement of a writer in a late number of that very able religious newspaper, the *New York Independent*, is that four fifths of the young men of our country, who have so many lectures written for their special behoof, are sceptically inclined. We would qualify this by saying, that we are not hastily to infer that these times are more irreligious than others, for religion may be manifested now in new forms. But for all that, disbelief in some quarters has become a fashion; while, on the other hand, the *Evangelical* churches, as they exclusively term themselves, are insisting in their books and tracts, with even stronger emphasis, on the extreme views of a verbal and plenary inspiration, as if alarmed at the daring invasions of human reason. But a split must come ere long even among them, and already the charges of heresy are hurled as ready missiles from the lofty battlements of more than one of their seats of learning at some peccant man or school. But it is a peculiarity of evil, that it cannot be overcome by evil; only good is a champion equal to that encounter. We would modestly propose to act as mediators between the extreme right and the extreme left, and with our Unitarian views point out what we regard as a more excellent way. We would show the rationalist, that the highest act of human reason is to discern and receive the lessons of the Divine Reason, and that his theory makes revelation an even greater wonder than it was before with the doctrine of miracles. We have not credulity enough to believe in his view, as he says he has not enough to believe in ours. On the other side, we would show the advocates of a verbal dictation, that, so far as the supposed advantages of such a process are concerned, a miracle would still be necessary in every case to guard each mind from error in perusing the book thus written; for the difficulties of language, translation, various education and spirituality, still intervene, and shatter their perfect white light of truth into the sevenfold dyes of the rainbow. The subject must be insured against error, as well as the object rendered immaculate, else their case is not made out. But the discrepancies of testimony confirm the honesty of the witnesses, the varieties of intellectual and moral power charm us as in a work of genius, and the age-long language and world-wide character of the

book set it heaven-high above the range of suspicion that it was the work of a clique or the project of a conspiracy. This theory confounds all simplicity, and destroys all progress. It makes the Old Testament as good as the New, and sets the Gospels on the same level with the Epistle of Jude or the Book of Revelation.

But such is the craving for excitement, the appetite for bold, extreme views, that the moderate man is charged with want of moral courage. Because a man does not startle the world with turning Romanist on one side, or Pantheist on the other, it is gravely suggested that he is deficient in independence. Strong, piquant statements fascinate the world, though the truth may be crucified between them. The main aspect of religious controversies is, that both parties are so wide of the mark, that you care little who succeeds. It is the potsherds of the earth, grinding one against another;—let them grind. How faintly do we as yet see that the truth, the truth, winnow it clean as we can from the chaff of corruptions, is all important, and infinitely valuable, and worthy of a world more of pains, studies, and sacrifices than we make, to secure it without spot or blemish.

Another error and evil in the consideration of this question of Biblical inspiration and authority is, that all its contents have been merged in one volume, the writers all squared by the same standard, the characters all required to be morally perfect, the same Procrustean rule applied as the test to the Song of Solomon and the Sermon on the Mount. No moral perspective has been observed, and no moral imagination has been exercised, in recreating and reconceiving the diversified life of the ancient world. The Scriptures we hold to be inspired, a speciality in literature, an authority in faith, "the law of the spirit of life,"—a book which man, or men, could not have composed, collected, and commissioned—one paramount key-note sounding from beginning to end—unless the writers had 'enjoyed an illumination superior to what Virgil received in writing his poems, Xenophon his histories, or Shakespeare his plays. But then the inspiration is not one in quantity or one in quality throughout. It has rises and falls, lights and shadows, expansions and contractions, of the divine element. So it is in the works of creation; why

not then in the works of grace? We do not presume to tie up the Infinite Power to one mode of operation in matter; why should we in the yet more boundless realm of spirit? In this characteristic, we submit, the Bible is a natural book, it lies like fair Nature herself, vast, varied, unequal, beautiful, amazing, but holding an infinity of particulars subordinate to the one grand strain. It is a book which steers clear of the common vanity of authors; one in which the writers claim little for themselves, but all for their subject, — are sometimes unknown, — do not override the freedom of man, — at times say they speak as men; but yet a book in which one harmonious and ever-brightening radiance of the religious sentiment shines, from Old to New, from Adam to Christ, and the idea of God, and man's duty to him, sit enthroned and sovereign. It is a history, poem, hymn, sermon, prophecy, argument, dialogue, essay, fiction, tragedy, and its sweep of variety is equal to its steadiness of aim. In such a state of things, to plant a genealogy from Chronicles side by side with the beatitudes, and to attempt to extract as much spiritual nutriment out of the sketches of the rude Philistines and Edomites as from the Epistles to the Corinthians, seems to be a confounding of all moral distinctions. The Canon has always been in discussion; some receiving more and others less; Luther stigmatizing the Epistle of James as an epistle of straw, and Swedenborg rejecting those of Paul from the word of the Lord, as not of the highest authority and spirituality. Now we contend that the spiritual and vivifying power of the Scriptures is not impaired, but enhanced, by this various dealing with its contents, and this miscellaneous condition of the book itself. For man was not made to be most influenced by set rules, but by large principles; not by an abstract creed, confession, or constitution, indited after the manner of a legal instrument, but by a mingling in one volume of all the methods of literary and moral composition. The very state of the Bible, which is objected to as invalidating its authority, is most favorable for awakening attention and inquiry, speaking to different stages of culture, and leaving human freedom inviolate. Each one calls that part best, which is best suited to his state of character. He reads what he affects. He calls that

inspired which to him is inspiring, and he truly judges that the height of the cause must bear some proportion to the depth of the effect. So tenderly has the right of free judgment been respected, and so little has the human mind been overborne by the wisdom from on high, that thus far the major portion of the Christian world is buried in Judaism, sticks to Moses and the Prophets, and has not yet reached Jesus and his glorious company of Apostles, nor heard the angelic song of Glory to God, and peace on earth, nor the parables of the Prodigal Son and the Good Samaritan, nor the prayer on the cross. But by the refining and reforming processes of Christian thought, Judaism is gradually waning from its supremacy, is chiefly valued as it stands connected with the Gospel as its antecedent, and because its records are the treasure-house of such unequalled strains of devotional poetry, golden sentences of wisdom, and sublime prophecies, while the Gospel is daily rising to its just sovereignty, as the effectual instrument for the regeneration of the whole world.

According to the declarations of the book itself, revelation is progressive, the Jewish Scriptures containing a promise, and the Christian a fulfilment of the same. It is remarkable that, while all other nations placed the age of gold in a remote past, the Hebrews dated it in the far-off future. But if there are these gradations in the general system from the law of Moses to the love of Christ, why should it be a thing incredible, that there are degrees of illumination, and that, while to One was given the Spirit "not by measure," to others of the sacred speakers and penmen it was granted as they were fitted to bear it, or as the wants of the time required? Among miracles there may be the greater and the less; why should not the supernatural as well as the natural works of God exhibit variety? We may not be able to tell the precise quantity or quality of inspiration in a given case, as we often find it difficult to determine the exact calibre of a genius, and define the position of a Wordsworth in one age, or a Smith in another; but when we see the sun, we say without hesitation, "There is the king of day," though we may be unable to compute the temperature, number, or essence of his beams. So we say of the Bible, "There is the sun of suns, with light

from beyond the empyrean." Like the mighty luminary of the sky, it has some dark spots on its disc, but when we candidly examine it, and see its incomparable superiority to the sacred books of other nations; when we find it so suggestive of spiritual truth, dealing with the highest relations, duties, and prospects of man as it respects God, the universe, and futurity; when we contemplate the unity and progressive nature of the plan it unfolds, and consider that the agents who were concerned in it lived thousands of years apart, and that the conspiracy to impose upon mankind, if conspiracy it was, ramified over distant generations, and embraced a long line of the greatest and best men who have lived on the earth, with Jesus Christ at the head, and that these men lifted up a light in the world, which would condemn their own characters, if their purposes had been dishonest; and when we reflect upon the results of this work in the world, its duration, its subjection of different ages, nations, and civilizations more or less completely to its controlling spirit, its rich and unceasing development of truth to suit the progress of man, new germs coming out of old seeds; — upon a calm survey of all this ground, we cannot doubt that the Scriptures contain the record of a supernatural revelation from God, mingled indeed more or less with the individualities, and of course the imperfections, of the persons who indited them, but possessing an inspiration and an authority, in addition to their truth, not granted to other books of wisdom and genius. It is philosophical to account for a stupendous effect by seeking for an adequate cause, and we confess we can discover no cause able to produce the effect the Bible has had upon the world except its special and inspired character. No other sacred books have claimed universality, or insisted upon being heard in the forum of conscience and the privacy of the heart, as the unerring guide, as the perfect comforter, as the life-giving inspirer. It is not criminal to neglect to read Plato's Dialogues, — other things may more than make up for that loss; but it is criminal to neglect to read the New Testament, for he who misses that loses a great good, which no library of Alexandria or the Vatican can supply.

It has sometimes been said, in reply to these views,

that the volume does not claim to be inspired, and that it sets up for itself no such superiority as its advocates allege in its behalf. But to this we answer that it does contain & "*Thus-saith-the-Lord*," repeated many times, and that however we may make that phrase a mere Hebraism to express a good impulse, or a dictate of reason and conscience, yet we cannot avoid the conclusion that the conduct of the Prophets and of the Apostles was often regulated by some principle or communication from above, different from the ordinary exercise of the human faculties. If it is replied that these were peculiar men, gifted religious geniuses, aboriginal saints and sages, then we would inquire, why other nations, far more favored by education, position, and native talent, have not been able to produce, we do not say a whole list like that of the Hebrew commonwealth, but even one solitary character of a faith like Abraham's, of a purity like Joseph's, of a wisdom like that of Moses, of devotional song like the Psalms of David, of hallowed imagination like that of Isaiah, of a charity like the love of John, and of a zeal equal to Paul's. The Israelites were once slaves, a stiff-necked people, according to their own candid history, not richly endowed either intellectually or morally, hard to be improved, easy to backslide; yet they supply a cluster of religious leaders, reformers, and idealists, such as the world has never witnessed before or since,—such as not merely one nation, but all nations, cannot match. And when upon such pillars the capital was set,—the Lord of glory,—the Temple of the Most High was perfected on earth. These men speak and act as for God, and not man, and, inspired with a holy spirit themselves, they have become divinely inspiring to others, who have even so much as touched the hem of their garments. The mighty cause has achieved a sublime effect. We rather would say, that it is an eminent feature of this book that it *does* claim a rightful supremacy over the faith and obedience of all men, a kingdom of heaven over all the kingdoms of earth. They do speak in character, and they unconsciously assume, when they do not directly express, their right and title to enlighten and guide every man's mind, heart, and conscience before his Maker. Especially in the New Testament, where the plan of thousands of years culminates

to its glorious consummation, the assumption by Jesus and his Apostles of more than human wisdom and authority is plain as the noonday. If this were fanaticism, it combined with it a discretion and a power to substantiate its claims, such as no other fanaticism ever afforded, and such too as no other wisdom of the wise, nor power of the strong, has been able to present. If this were dishonesty, it was coupled with the most remarkable purity of private life, fervor of self-sacrifice, love of the truth, and devotion to the good of mankind. If it is so easy for poets to sing like David, for preachers to argue like Paul, and if it was only a rare religious genius who spoke through the wondrous lips of Jesus, then we would earnestly press the question till it is answered, Why, why has the history of six thousand years been so destitute of such instances? Why cannot vast Christendom now, with its rich experience, its cultured mind and heart, yield one work, or small chapter, or hymn, that shall be read without blame along with the seventeenth chapter of John, or the fifteenth of the First of Corinthians; one that shall carry the weight of spirituality, that shall speak to the depths of the moral nature, announce the duties of a race with so easy and natural a majesty as the beatitudes and golden rules of the Galilean carpenter?

The argument of permanency is a strong one in behalf of an inspired and authoritative revelation. Wise Egypt, polished Greece, and proud Rome, as institutions, exist no more; but homely Judea, as an institution, lives, spreads, emigrates, and lays hold of immortality. Assyrians, Tyrians, and Romans, as races, are obsolete, but the Jews are shone upon by to-day's sun in every latitude and longitude, a quite universal people, hale and hopeful from the battle of three thousand years. The pivot of the argument is here, that the religion and polity of this wonderful people, though superseded by their development and exhaustion in Christianity, were so potent with vitality from their divine origin, that they live on and keep the heart warm and the soul firm from generation to generation, long after the original impulse has been transferred elsewhere. If Judaism, the incipient institution, have such longevity, what will be the duration of Christianity, its full-grown power? The

Veds of Hindooism, the Morals of Confucius, the Oracles of Zoroaster, the Koran of Mahomet, are doomed and declining. None of these have been able to get the least hold upon the Western and ascending races; they are imbedded only in the Eastern and perishing races. The seeds of truth from Judea flying westward have taken root, and the fate of Babylon has not been the fate of Jerusalem, to die out of all memory and affection of mankind. Our domestic Mahometanism of the Great Salt Lake, and its volume of fables, contain the elements of a speedy dissolution. This book, on the other hand, does not die, but lives; is translated into many scores of languages and dialects, and diffused like the leaves of Vallombrosa, east, west, north, south, to the ends of the world. Other systems, propped up by colossal pillars of empire, buttressed and fortified by hoary customs, are waning, and dropping piecemeal; but this volume is young and beautiful to-day, and no thought yet has gone higher than its thought of God, no love has welled up from such depths as its love of God. How shall we speak befittingly of the difference between the two cases, except we say, "The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever"?

Then look at its power of resistance against all the enginery brought to bear upon it in these hard-headed Western nations. All species of scepticisms have taken their turns at it to demolish it; the scorn of Lucian, the philosophy of Hume, the history of Gibbon, the science of France, the freedom of Paine, the rationalism of Germany, the materialism of England and America, but none of these things essentially move it. For they who say of the Church, "We have sapped its life," and of the Scriptures, "Lay that volume on the upper shelf," have not read the papers, and are not living in the living world. Indeed, they have no more apprehension of the zeal, number, breadth, and success of the Christian enterprises now on foot, and wafting their promises to every clime, than a babe has of the powers of language. We well know how even learned men may refine and re-refine their theories, and run off upon a wrong track, until they lose all hold of the realities of the universe, and their arguments and their principles become as base-

less as the fabric of a dream. Is it not so with this class?

We press the inquiry, then, How happens it, if this revelation does not contain the special, inspired truths of the divine and otherwise and hitherto incommunicable reason of the Absolute and Infinite One, that the more the din of appetite and passion is hushed, and the still, small voice of reason is heard, — that the farther and the loftier science and learning swell their triumphs, — that the more arts and inventions are perfected, — and, in a word, the more deeply the human soul enters into the knowledge of the scheme of creation, — the more widely does this scroll fly abroad in the earth, scattering its leaves as from the tree of life for the healing of the nations? If not consentaneous with the higher than human plane of thought, how has so old a book, so new and young a power, permeating with its spirit education and government, art and literature, leading the world's leaders, burning in the lyrics and stories of freedom, and the appeals of temperance, and melting in the accents of peace, and smoothing the seamed and haggard face of society with every lovely feature an angel might wear? That the Bible, asbestos-like, can stand the fire and light of modern investigation, and grow purer and brighter by the searching analysis; that it becomes mistress of the hardest races, and is spread most widely throughout two nations and fifty millions of haughty Anglo-Saxons, and that, unsatisfied with any past achievements, it goes on conquering and to conquer; — these are presumptive evidences of no little weight in support of some remarkable power in these books, unknown before. For we still urge the question upon every reflecting mind, Why have the rebellious Hebrews effected a result to which the philosophical Greeks, the sagacious Romans, the devout Arabs, the contemplative Hindoos, the brilliant Persians, and the moral Chinese, have proved unequal? By what wit or wisdom were they of a provincial state able to accomplish the universal and the eternal kingdom? We know no better solution than the words of Jesus on a like occasion, — “Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.”

This lofty superiority of the Gospel especially has been well expressed by Ackermann, in his work entitled

"The Christian in Plato." He says, as quoted in our own pages:—

"We affirm that, out of the Church of the Lord, there never was a more Christian philosophy than the Platonic. We affirm that Christianity, — which from the beginning lay in the bosom of history, — before its bodily appearance in the person and life of Jesus, had reached a degree of perfection in the minds of thinking men, who were inquiring after divine truth, — and this ideal Gospel was Platonism. In uttering this, we have said the most and the best of him which we can say with a well-grounded conviction. Platonism can never have more than an ideal power and greatness.

"But now if Platonism, by its ideal nature, its religious sublimity, the perfect beauty of its dialectic form, is so admirably fitted to astonish and inspire the thinking, and to win all souls that aspire after the Divine, — how great, how infinitely great, must be the hidden, inward power of the plain words of the humble Jesus, which, though destitute of all that is so enchanting in Platonism, have not only established a mighty Church, but have triumphantly outlasted Platonism, its most venerable and most powerful antagonist! And if, as is well known, in the whole philosophical literature of ancient and modern times, no production can be found which equals Platonism in its æsthetic perfection of form, in profoundness, in wealth of ideas, and in the lofty soaring of a spirit inspired by God, how incomparably high must Christianity stand, since we see the loftiest work of human art and wisdom far beneath it!" *

But in advocating the characteristic of a special inspiration in the Scriptures, we encounter some who reject it on the basis of a mistaken intellectualism. They well-nigh adore, it may be, the specialities of genius, their Goethe, or Carlyle, or Coleridge, but recoil from the specialities of inspiration, the Isaiah, the James, as something contracted and canting. We would suggest to any such, that thought must be incarnated, and that that wisdom is most wise which walks among men and mingles with their life its pure and holy stream. These persons profess, to use one of their own terms, *to ignore* the moral, and look upon mere thought as the chief immaterial power, and for inspiration they write genius. But the point is, that by this step they lose not only the rich spiritual experiences of a believer in a special Chris-

* Christian Examiner for January, 1839, Vol. XXV. p. 384.

tianity, but they do in reality forego the grandest form and the most enduring which intellectual energies can achieve, and that is wisdom. We live in an age and a land where smartness, shrewdness, cunning, and brilliancy of thought are esteemed as the most regal gifts of the mind, and full-orbed and compacted wisdom is put at a lower figure, if it have not the trumpets of praise and self-love to blow its own progress. The leading sceptics, however, as a general rule, have not been the first-class minds, the immortal few who have led the ages, but they have been themselves the thing they most admired in others, ingenious, smart, active, shrewd intellects, but not clothed upon with Miltonic thunder or Newtonian light. The ingenuity, which can invent a new steam-engine, or discover a better method of growing peaches, is not always associated with the other attributes which are requisite to appreciate the lofty, contemplative thought, the impartial wisdom, the august reverence before highest Heaven, the fervent and life-and-death devotion to the truth, and the all-embracing charity, of Him who spake as never man spake. Let those who are disposed to reject revelation, in any form or degree, understand that in doing so they are not taking a higher, but a lower, intellectual, as well as moral position, than the full receiver. The brilliant eccentricities of genius delight us for a time, but they soon become "stale, flat, and unprofitable." Intellectual dynasties rise, flourish, and decline. At certain periods of life we are Byronic, then Carlylian, then Franklinian, then Shakespearian. At certain ages of Pericles, Augustus, or Queen Anne, a special form of literature, shaped by the ideas which have then come to light, is developed, superseded, and in time fossilized into the permanent formations, of which our intellectual earth is built up. But it is the solitary glory of the book of books, God-breathed and life-giving, to arch itself over all ages; and while

"His truths upon the nations rise,
They rise, but never set."

In the wisest intellects of Greece and Rome there is a certain unsoundness; we feel that they have not got hold of the true theory of the universe and intellectually thought the thoughts of God. Hence, upon their works must be written, "*Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin.*" They

are read and will ever be read by a few of the learned, and known as mighty names and spells of power by a larger class of the intelligent, but they exert no real controlling power on the mind of universal humanity. They are not strong, wise, all-sided, and absolute enough to hold the spiritual sceptre of the ages. Before Christianity got fairly under weigh, Platonism and the Aristotelian philosophy for a time quite overbore it, but as it has won for itself a larger freedom, and spread over a greater extent of mind, it has sloughed off these earlier corruptions, and it has, and it will, more and more become itself, in its native spirit of power, and love, and a sound mind, and reign sovereign over the philosophy, as well as the morals, of the world, and inspire art, science, and literature with their inmost wisdom, as much as piety and philanthropy with their justifying and rapturous sentiments. We may rest doubly assured, that no mere feeble work of mind, however elevated in moral tone, could thus master the masters of the mental sphere. The testimony of such imperial natures as Taylor, Milton, Pascal, Locke, Newton, Bacon, Scott, Wordsworth, Coleridge, demonstrates that they felt a deep in the Scriptures calling upon the deep in their own being; or, as the last has expressed it, that in "the Bible there is more that *finds* me, than I have experienced in all other books put together; that the words of the Bible find me at greater depths of my being; and that whatever finds me brings with it an irresistible evidence of having proceeded from the Holy Spirit."

But it is said, What do you gain by your speciality of revelation? You only receive at the most the truth, and the rejecter of inspiration receives as much as that, and more than that is folly or superstition. Is he not as happy in his unbelief, as you are in your belief? Does he not extract as much good from life, and from the great Nature, and encompassing Providence, and solemn Past, as you do? We must reply, that, according to our views, he loses much every way. He misses intellectually no little of the power which the full conviction of faith would give; and he fails of receiving in the heart that peculiar peace and rest of soul, which come from reposing on the promises of God, and feeling that they are his promises, and that, if these fail,

"The pillared firmament itself is rottenness."

The more earnest the faith, the more do we rise from the din and smoke of earth into the stormless calm and azure of heaven's heights. Life then assumes ever a deeper meaning, a tenderer joy, a more heartfelt satisfaction. We pass within the outworks to the life of life; and the zest of youth and spring is again fresh in sense and soul. For in the Scriptures we look at all things from a divine, not a human stand-point, and the joy and strength and love of the Highest pass into us while we are beholding. And then also, in those darker days, when "the house we live in" begins to decay, and "mind and memory flee," how securely does the devotee to this higher wisdom and love witness the desolation going on, and hear the busy carpenters tearing down the scaffolding of his existence, only that his true being may stand out in all its simple beauty and reality! He knows as Plato never knew; and the special wisdom of God hath appeared to bring this life and immortality to light, that, though "his outward man perish, the inward man is renewed day by day"; and "that, if his earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, he has a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

As the Scriptures are inspired, so, if faithfully used, do they become life-awakening and soul-inspiring. As they are living, their pupil is living likewise; as they are wise and loving, he is changed into the same image from strength to strength, and from glory to glory. The soul of the world is brutish, and its ear dull of hearing; but when God thunders and lightens out of heaven, men cannot but look up with awe; and when he says, in the still, small voice of love, though it thrills through the soul more than all the thunderings and lightnings of Sinai, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him," they cannot but hear him, and they have heard him more than any or all other teachers for twenty centuries, and they will go on hearing him for ever.

We live, in truth, in an image-breaking age. We are impatient of the past, because forsooth it is the past. We bid it good-by, and seem to care not to meet it again. Our young country stands straining on the lists, champing the bit till it is white with foam, and hot with impatience to thunder forth and scour the plain in still

wider circles of enterprise, and challenge still prouder victories over matter and over men. Young America is a terrible power in the earth. But the voice of the Master, mightier than that of any earthly potentate, shall be able to say, "Peace, Peace!" instead of war, to this Hercules, and he shall sit clothed and in his right mind.

But in order that the inspiration in the Bible may become inspiration in us, we must read, and muse, till the fire burns. The deep book must be read with our deepest mind. "If the well is deep, and we have nothing to draw with, from whence then can we have that living water?" Voltaire confessed that he had not even read the whole of the book upon which he poured out such a merciless scorn. Other infidels have confessed to a similar neglect. We say then, for honesty's sake, give as much study to your theology as you do to your geology or astronomy, your navigation, engineering, or farming, and "hasten slowly" in making up a final judgment on a collection of books so various, so reverend, and so ancient. But if you weigh it carefully, and drink in its spirit, if you read and re-read its Job and its John, and con its moral tables and golden rules, and exult in its songs, and hush your heart with its prayers, and descend depth after depth into the passion and pathos of Jesus, and, after all this spiritual process, you still find it to be only a bundle of Jewish and old wives' fables, then you will have falsified, we do not say the highest yearnings and moral instincts of your own being, but the colossal testimony of the ages, the innermost experience of the wisest men of the Christian ages. He who turns from the book, when he has thus taken it home to heart and head, has not only to disclaim the power of the Scriptures, but he has got a yet harder battle to fight with history, to deny "Christianity as an existing power in the world, and Christendom as an existing fact, with the no less evident fact of a progressive expansion."

But were we never so familiar with the Scriptures, and could we rehearse *memoriter* its psalms and its parables, it is not then by any means to be laid aside, as an old-world book, which we have learned out. The Bible can never be exhausted in that way. If it wears threadbare, it is to the superficial and cold, not the warm-

hearted and the deep-souled. We honor God in matter by going to see his Great and his Fair, and we should honor him in mind by admiring yesterday and to-day and for ever the types of his Great and his Good, the heroes of his earlier, and the saints of his later dispensation. We greet with all hail the spring and the song of birds; we walk in the autumn wood without weariness; and with fresh delight and wonder revisit Niagara and the Alps, the Atlantic and the Rhine. Why should we not commune with the Super-Nature, the Soul of things, with new inspiration? Here is the oldest history, the purest theism, here are the wisest laws, the highest idealities of the spirit-world, and the thoughts of the Son of God. There may be a familiarity which breeds contempt, but there is an intimacy which ripens into love. The use of the Bible promiscuously in schools, to be spelled and murdered by dullards of the form, may be injurious, but its reverential and early reading by childhood must be favorable to clearness of intellectual vision, as well as purity of heart. It may be so read as to enslave, not free the soul; there is such a superstition as Bibliolatry, but when intelligently and reverently studied and digested into the mind, it becomes the charter of the fairest freedom, as well as the missal of the lowliest faith and penitence. Then we would say, let these holiest words be lisped by children at their mother's knee, and let them circle round the fireside of home, and let them make musical and devout the walls of school-room and capitol. Life is too hard with soul-seducing temptations and crushing afflictions, for us to cast away this balm of the heart, this munition against evil. Verily we cannot estrange ourselves from this wise and mighty counsellor without losing something of the best part of life, and vacating a domain of rich experience, refined intellectual culture, and sweet and happy ideas of God and life and life's future, for the want of which no amount of earthly prosperity and pleasures, though broad as the sea and countless as the sands on its shore, can ever compensate.

Inspiration is not infallibility; else it must be subjective in the mind of each receiver, as well as subjective in the mind of the giver. Inspiration is no chain of compulsion, either to the intellect or the heart. High and

holy as it is, and descending from the heaven of heavens, it falls gently on the soul, as the rain comes from the zenith, nor mars nor breaks a single petal of the tenderest flower. Though coming from above, it is, like all light, discolored by the atmosphere it passes through, and issues to us as Mosaic, Pauline, Johannine, or Petrine. Inspiration is not, again, perfect character, any more than it is perfect knowledge. It is a help, not a substitute, for our natural powers. The men inspired may not always be the men perfect; there is in them likewise the play of the terrible engine of the will. It is as Peter said of the miracle done to the lame man at the Gate Beautiful, so of the world taught, — “Why marvel ye at this? Or why look ye so earnestly on us, as though by our own power or holiness we made this man to walk?” It was not because they were so perfect in character, or so wise in intellect, beyond all other men, that Paul and John spoke as they did, but because they were illuminated from on high that they and all men might become more wise and more perfect. Inspiration casts no discredit on human nature, but it honors and glorifies it rather, that it can be the sharer and congenial recipient and user of so heavenly a wisdom. It has no conflict with, and assumes no haughty precedence of, reason and genius, but, on the contrary, the intellectual kings and princes of the race have bowed their laurelled heads at the foot of the cross, and have felt glorified, not humiliated by the act. In its light they have seen light, and been made strong and beautiful as angels by its life and its love. From its elevated plane of vision, they have spoken with a second-hand inspiration, and have kindled anew the failing hope of the world, and disarmed the problem of despair, the destiny of man.

O wonderful Bible! book of the ages, theme of David and Paul, of Moses and Jesus! a recorded revelation from Infinite Wisdom to frail, ignorant man, sitting in sackcloth and ashes! Egypt is gone, but a race of slaves from her bosom have been the teachers and leaders of the nations. Greece and Rome, too, have had their rise and growth, decline and downfall, and they too are gone; their mythologies and their philosophies have crumbled with their Parthenons and their Pantheons. But this mighty river of thought, the confluence of divers

streams of wisdom on the highest subjects of God and the soul and the soul's eternity, taking its rise in the remotest mountains of antiquity, flowing down with an ever-accumulating volume and power through successive climes and countries, bearing on its broad bosom the freight of untold treasures, — corn from Egypt, gold from Ophir, myrrh and frankincense from Arabia, silks from Persia, oil and honey from Syria, and its own richest wealth from Judah's sacred mount, — still pouring onward with its deepening and resistless tide, as from the hollow of God's own hand, at once giving a refreshing draught to a thirsty soul, and fertilizing provinces and kingdoms with its inexhaustible streams; — what if it have a tinge and a taste from the soils it has passed through, a sediment from the affluence of its tributaries, and a bitter and a sweet from the luxuriant vegetation which adorns its banks and dips into its current? Is it not still the Great River of the waters of life, making glad the city and church of our God, rolling ever onward with its majestic sweep, and carrying with it the innumerable commerce from every kindred and tongue and people under heaven toward the Greater Sea?

A. A. L.

ART. II.—AUSTRALIA, ITS HISTORY AND RESOURCES.*

AUSTRALIA was discovered, almost simultaneously, by the Dutch and Portuguese, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. But the discovery consisted only in the mere ascertainment of the existence of land at sev-

* 1. *Narrative of an Expedition into Central Australia, performed under the Authority of her Majesty's Government during the Years 1844, 1845, and 1846, together with a Notice of the Province of South Australia in 1847.* By CAPT. CHARLES STURT, F.L.S., F.R.G.S., etc., etc., Author of "Two Expeditions into Southern Australia." 2 vols. 8vo. London: T. and W. Boone. 1849.

2. *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, with Descriptions of the recently explored Region of Australia Felix, and of the present Colony of New South Wales.* By MAJOR T. L. MITCHELL, F.G.S. and M.R.G.S., Surveyor-General. 2 vols. 8vo. London: T. and W. Boone. 1838.

3. *Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, including a Visit*

eral points. No account was made of it, either in the way of settlement or exploration; and it was not known whether the several parts seen were points of one continent or were separate islands. The island of New Guinea had fallen under the notice of the Dutch in their commerce with Java, and an expedition was sent by them to explore the former country. The exploring vessel saw the coast of Australia to the south of Endeavor Strait, as it has been since called, on the northeast coast, near the Gulf of Carpentaria. A few months later, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros and Luis Vaez de Torres discovered, while sailing in company, the islands which were called by them Terra del Espiritu Santo (Land of the Holy Ghost), and since called New Hebrides, — six hundred miles eastward of the Australian continent; and after their separation, Torres saw the coast of Australia at its most northern point, now called Cape York. These discoveries were severally made in the first decade of the seventeenth century, from 1605 to 1607. In the succeeding quarter of a century, a large extent of coast was discovered by the Dutch; and in 1642 Tasman discovered Van Diemen's Land.

For all purposes, however, it remained for nearly two centuries as if its existence had not been known. Captain Cook, at about the period of the American Revolution, discovered a large part of the eastern coast; soon after which the English government established a colony in New South Wales, at Port Jackson, and farther discoveries followed on the southern coast of the continent.

Some partial explorations of the interior were made from time to time in a course of years, beginning with the expedition of Mr. Oxley, on the Lachlan River, in 1817, and on the Macquarie, in 1818. Howell and Hume examined some of the country on branches of the Murrumbidgee. In 1829 Captain Sturt followed Mr. Oxley's route on the Macquarie, and extended his examination about one hundred miles farther toward the west; and

to the Gold Regions and a Description of the Mines, with an Estimate of the probable Results of the great Discovery. By JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D.D., A.M., recently one of the Representatives of Sydney in the Legislative Council of New South Wales, etc. Third Edition, bringing down the History of the Colony to the 1st of July, 1852. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1852. 2 vols. Demi 8vo.

in the next year he explored the Murrumbidgee and Hume. These expeditions were the opening of the book of Australia to the world.

A little more than twenty years ago, the attention of the English government, and of some of its accomplished and enterprising officers, was turned to that country as a field of discovery and exploration. Expeditions were organized for surveying the coasts and exploring the interior. Captains King, Stokes, and others, have presented to the public the information derived from the voyages on the coasts, and Captain Grey has given an account of his exploration of the west and northwest parts of the continent; and Sturt, Eyre, Mitchell, and Leichhardt, of their expeditions into the interior, in several directions. Strzelecki, Lang, Dutton, and Lord Eden have written geographical and historical sketches. Mr. Hodgkinson has published a sketch of the eastern coast, for an extent of three hundred miles from the vicinity of Port Macquarie in about 32° south, to about 27°, including the country about Moreton Bay and Brisbane River. The attention of the local government seems to have been at first excited by the stories of a runaway convict, or, as called there, a bush-ranger, who reported that a great river flowed from high up toward the north out to the sea, southwesterly. These expeditions and explorations have resulted in making the world pretty well acquainted with the new continent, and its geographical character, natural history, and capacities. In extent it exceeds two thousand miles from east to west, or 39° of longitude, from 115° to 154°, and is about eighteen hundred miles from north to south, comprising 29° of latitude, from 10° to 39°. It was found sparsely inhabited by two distinct black races, one resembling the Malay, the other in color and hair having some resemblance to the African negro, but differing in features.

The information which led to the modern series of discoveries in the interior was communicated by George Clarke, a convict, who escaped from the vigilance of the police at Sydney, and lived for a time among the wild natives of the country. These people, it is known to our readers, wear no covering. Their dwellings are merely lodges of ten or twelve feet in diameter and four feet high, into which they crawl and lie occasionally, for

shelter against sun or rain, or for repose, and are made of the branches and twigs of bushes interlaced. Their food is, for the most part, wild game, which is wholesome, palatable, and abundant; though, we are informed by Mr. Hodgkinson, the tribes in the vicinity of the M'Leay River make much account of obtaining a worm, which they find in decaying logs, and which seems to be an important part of their diet. They feed also on snakes, with which the country abounds. They are generally of good disposition, peaceable, and honest. With these people Clarke lived, having painted himself of their color to avoid detection by the police, and traversed regions before unvisited by white men; but being finally discovered and captured by the police, he gave information of the parts of the country which he had seen while he roamed with the natives. He reported that he had been on the banks of a large river to the northwest, called, as he said, the Kindur, by following which in a southwest direction he had reached the sea-coast; on approaching which he saw a burning mountain, called Courada. As he described with correctness the course of some streams to the north, which were already known to the English residents, some credence was given to that part of his story which described the unknown region. Accounts had already been current of a river running northwest from Liverpool Plains, a tract of country behind Sydney, and by the relation of Clarke, the attention of the acting governor, Sir Patrick Lindsay, was drawn to the investigation of the truth of the matter; and an expedition was organized under the direction of Sir T. L. Mitchell, Surveyor-General, for exploring the interior. The magnitude of the anticipated enterprise, and the feelings of the leader in relation to its difficulties and the importance of its results, are so well expressed by him, that we repeat here his language, as a prelude to the opening of this new book of nature.*

"I left Sydney at noon on Thursday, the 24th day of November, 1831, to prosecute my journey, being accompanied for some miles by my friend, Colonel Snodgrass.

"It was not until then that my mind was sufficiently relieved

* Sir T. L. Mitchell's *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Australia*, Vol. I. p. 2.

from considering the details of my department to enable me to direct my thoughts to the undiscovered country. I had yet to traverse three hundred miles, for thus far the flocks of the colonists extended from Sydney, before I could reach that vast, untrodden soil, the exploration of which was the object of my mission. I felt the ardor of my early youth, when I first sought distinction in the crowded camp and battle-field, revive, as I gave loose, at length, to my reflections, and considered the nature of the enterprise. But in comparing the feelings I then experienced with those which excited my youthful ambition, it seemed that even war and victory, with all their glory, were far less alluring than the pursuit of researches such as these, for the purpose of spreading the light of civilization over a portion of creation as yet unknown, rich, perhaps, in the luxuriance of uncultivated nature, where science might accomplish new and unthought of discoveries, and intelligent man would find a region teeming with useful vegetation, abounding with rivers, hills, and valleys, and waiting only for his enterprising spirit and improving hand to turn to account the native bounty of the soil."

The portion of Clarke's story relating to the Peel and Nammoy Rivers was found by Sir T. L. Mitchell to be correct; but he says that his further account of the large river was a pure invention. He says, "I examined him in the hulk at Sydney," (after his, Mitchell's, return from the expedition,) "and was satisfied that he had never been beyond the Nundawar range" (a range of hills terminating about one hundred miles from a point of the Darling bearing northwest). "This journey of discovery," he says, "proved that any large river flowing to the *northwest* must be far to the northward of lat. 29°. All the rivers south of that parallel, and which had been described by the Barber [Clarke] as falling into such a river as the 'Kindur,' have been ascertained to belong wholly to the basin of the Darling." *

* Mr. Mitchell has either misreported the story of Clarke, or he has suffered himself to lapse into a strange confusion. His report of the story of Clarke is, as before related from his own volume, that, by following the Kindur in a *southwest* direction, he had twice reached the sea-shore. (See *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, Vol. I. p. 2.) This, it is now known, may be done. But he discredits the story of Clarke for the reason that he did not find a large river flowing to the *northwest*, (*Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 139,) which was not stated by Clarke to be the case. He did find a river which flows to the *southwest*, and in that direction reaches the sea, as told by Clarke. This is the Darling, called by the natives, where struck by Mitchell, Karaula, and, it may be, at some other point, Kindur. In describing his course to this river as northwest, it is more than

From that date to the present time, explorations into the interior have been made by Messrs. Sturt, Mitchell, Eyre, and others.

Australia is divided into several provinces or colonies. New South Wales covers an extensive region on the eastern coast, from the extreme north to 35° south, or about fifteen hundred miles, extending westward from the sea-coast in 154° E. to 141° , being over six hundred miles in breadth in its southern portion, and less in the northern.*

South Australia occupies the region extending from 141° E. to 132° E. or nearly or about five hundred miles from east to west; and from 26° to 38° south latitude, though the sea line confines a large portion of it north of 34° and 35° , making its average extent north and south about six hundred miles.

The new colony of Victoria is of small extent, occupying a tract of two hundred and fifty miles from north to south, and five hundred miles from east to west, in the southeastern portion of the continent. It is, however, said to be the best portion as to fertility and agricultural capacity; and was called by Mr. Mitchell, the Surveyor, in reference to this character, *Australia Felix*. The district of Port Philip is included in this colony, and within its territory the most abundant discoveries of gold have been recently made, including the mines of Ballarat and Mount Alexander.

Of the immense tract lying between the sea and South Australia, from 115° to 132° east longitude, and extending across the continent north and south from 15°

probable that a vagabond like Clarke did not mark it quite so accurately without a compass as the Surveyor-General with his instruments. It may be supposed that he followed the Nammoy, whose course to the Darling is very near northwest, while Mr. Mitchell bore farther north. But it was the position of the higher part of the stream relative to the settlement at Sydney, and his course from the Nundawar range to the Kindur, that was, as he stated, to the northwest; not the course of the river, which he said flowed to the southwest. It seems, therefore, not improbable, that Clarke was the first white man who followed the Darling to its union with the Murray, and to the sea. But neither did Mr. Mitchell, in his exploration, seek for a river flowing to the northwest, and this idea is inconsistent with his whole narrative, unless he conceived the Darling to flow thither.

* According to Mitchell, its western boundary is 145° east longitude, and the Darling and Murray Rivers. In the *National Cyclopædia*, the average width east to west is stated at six hundred and thirty miles, length north to south about nine hundred miles, its northern limit being 26° , its southern the ocean. This limit leaves a large territory for another province to the north.

to 35° south latitude, a colony called West Australia has lately been formed within the limits of 30° S. and the coast in 35°, and between the ocean on the west and 120° east longitude. This would give, for area, over one hundred thousand miles, leaving eight or ten times that surface in unorganized territory. Western Australia contains but four or five thousand white, and about two thousand native population.

The settlements have been mostly made in this country within fifteen or sixteen years, with the exception of the convict settlements and the voluntary migrations to the New South Wales colony. South Australia and Victoria have been wholly settled within that period. The town of Adelaide, in the former colony, on the Gulf of St. Vincent, was begun by the erection of the first house in 1836, and in 1847 it was supposed by Captain Sturt to have from eight to ten thousand inhabitants. It is the capital of the colony. Melbourne, in the Port Philip district, was begun about the same time. It is the capital of Victoria, and it has been stated, that in the year 1850, preceding the rush to the newly discovered gold mines, it contained twenty-three thousand inhabitants. There are few instances of such a mushroom growth, even among our Western towns. Adelaide, in 1847, contained twelve places of worship, only three of which Captain Sturt styles churches,—it being contrary to custom, as sanctioned by the Established Church, to call the houses of Dissenters churches, probably from respect to the old Dissenters, who themselves, some two or three centuries ago, willed to call them meeting-houses. The great tract of Western Australia is, we believe, as yet nearly unsettled, including half of the surface of the continent. New South Wales in 1848 contained 220,474 people, including the Victoria colony, of whom 4,015 were convicts. In 1850, the estimated population of Victoria was sixty thousand. The whole population of the continent at this time may be from four hundred thousand to half a million.

The interior portion of the continent explored by Captain Sturt, comprising four degrees of longitude, from 138° to 142° E., and eight degrees of latitude, from 24° 30' to 32° 30', is a desert, which for extent, sterility, aridity, and calidity is perhaps unsurpassed. It is, for the

most part, a plain of dry, naked sand, destitute, in tracts, of grass; in others, having scattered tufts of coarse herbaceous vegetation; and in some, covered with a scrubby growth of low bushes. Properly, there are no rivers, that is, no living, permanent streams. Except the Murray and the short streams rising in the coast ranges, this is the case throughout the continent. But there are beds of rivers, or rather gullies, which serve to drain the country after the rains, and which at other times have their channels alternating in pools of water separated by long interspaces of dry ground. Of this character are not only the creeks, but the large rivers, as the Darling. It is the general hydrographic feature of the country. Captain Sturt's party were frequently three or four days without water, had to traverse over one hundred miles to obtain a smack from a small water-hole of muddy, sometimes of putrid water, and lost several horses by death from thirst. They met a party of natives having their tongues swollen from the same cause. The usual summer range of the thermometer was about 117° to 120° in the shade; on one occasion it marked 137° , the highest scale of the instrument, and, still expanding, burst the tube.

On his last attempt to proceed northward, in October, 1845, Captain Sturt came to a stop and turned homeward, at fifty miles from his last watering. He had travelled a great part of the day and night on his return, resting only from one o'clock A. M. till dawn, in which tramp one of his horses fell dead late at night, and at eleven the next day he arrived at a place where he hoped to find water in the holes which he had made to drain what might be on the surface. No water was there; but Mr. Stuart, one of the party, poked his fingers into the mud, and moistened his lips with them.

Such is the detail day after day of Mr. Sturt's exploration in the desert. His notes are, therefore, principally of the thermometer, the sand, and the drought; and he descants on every page of his unsuccessful searches after a creek or a water-hole. This makes the burden of his volume. It required an iron resolution to persevere against these appalling dangers and difficulties, in the manner and to the extent which Captain Sturt and his stout-hearted companions did. Of such a character

seems to be nearly the whole territory of the colony of South Australia, with the exception of only a small strip adjacent to the coast. Between Adelaide and the Murray, however, is a tract well suited to cultivation, and which is of great value for its minerals, chiefly copper and iron.

In 1843 the first discovery of copper was made. From this period, which was one of great depression in the pastoral and agricultural business of the colony, and which circumstance gave a great stimulus to enterprises in mining, mine after mine of copper and lead was constantly brought to light. In 1844 or 1845 the Burra-Burra mine was discovered, from which, in 1847, had been sent weekly to port four hundred and fifty tons. The amount that had been received up to December of that year was ten thousand tons, and the shares, originally £ 5, had risen to £ 160, or from \$ 25 to \$ 800. "The whole of the mountain chain," Captain Sturt says, "is a mass of ore from one end to the other, and it is impossible to say what quantity or how many of the richer metals will ultimately be found in a country through which the baser metals are, without doubt, so abundantly diffused." On the 23d of October, 1847, three dividends were declared and paid, on the Burra-Burra, amounting to 200 per cent. on the subscribed capital, and the credits of the association were, on the 30th of September previous, £ 104,694 4s. 8d.

Captain Sturt found the natives very peaceable, almost without exception, and mostly forward in offering kindness. Mr. Mitchell also met with little show of hostility. One tribe on the Darling, about one hundred miles above its junction with the Murrumbidgee, displayed a very decidedly hostile disposition, and were about commencing an attack, but were easily put to flight. Mr. Allan Cunningham, botanist, having strayed from the party, was murdered by other natives on the Bogan, and two of Mr. Mitchell's expresses were also killed in the same region. From these occurrences it might be doubted whether the pacific behavior of these people at other times was the effect of a natural disposition, or was induced by fear or policy. Mr. Mitchell says of them: "My experience enables me to speak in the most favorable terms of the aborigines, whose degraded position in

the midst of the white population affords no just criterion of their merits. The quickness of apprehension of those in the interior was very extraordinary, for nothing, in all the complicated adaptations we carried with us, either surprised or puzzled them. They are never awkward; on the contrary, in manners and general intelligence they appear superior to any class of white rustics that I have seen. Their powers of mimicry seem extraordinary, and their shrewdness shines even through the medium of imperfect language, and renders them in general very agreeable companions." (Vol. II. p. 334.) As to their temper, however, Mr. Mitchell considered it bad. He said that no kindness could propitiate them. The natives, in most parts of New South Wales which were seen by Major Mitchell, wear a narrow belt around the loins, with a pendant before and behind, and a bandage or fillet around the head. But many of the tribes have nothing artificial about them. If we remember correctly, neither Captain Sturt nor Mr. Hodgkinson speaks of these or any articles of dress or decoration. They paint the body red, but this seems only for occasions, and make ridges, or raised lines over them, in the skin. Their weapons used in war or the hunting of animals are the spear, and a singular weapon called bomareng, which, as described by Mitchell and Hodgkinson, is a thin curved stick two feet four inches in length, larger in the middle than at the ends, which can be thrown by a skilled hand with a rotatory motion, so as to rise upon the wind, and in a crooked direction, toward any given point, with great precision, and to return within a yard or two of the thrower; or, by first striking the ground near him, to bound, so as to hit, at a given distance, *en ricochet*, any object behind a tree. This weapon is also similarly described by Mr. Hodgkinson and Mr. Howitt. The personal appearance and dwelling, and habits of life of these people, have been already casually adverted to. The following statement made by Dr. Lang must suffice for the conclusion of this summary notice of the natives; only remarking, however, that some discrepancies exist in the different accounts of these people, probably owing to the fact that there are two distinct races, and to the different periods of observation, having relation to their longer or shorter intercourse with the whites. Dr. Lang relates to

us that Captain Philip, the first Governor of New South Wales, endeavored to conciliate the natives, and to induce them to adopt the habits of civilized life. He domesticated in his family one of them, named Bennilong, a man of some consequence in his tribe, who so far acquired the habits of the English that he acquitted himself at the Governor's table, according to the report of those who sat with him, "with the utmost propriety"; Captain Philip carried him with him on his return to England, and introduced him among his acquaintance as an interesting specimen of the Australian native. But on going back to his native land, Bennilong threw off his European dress, and rejoined his tribe as a naked savage, apparently unimproved, in the least degree, by his converse with civilized man.

It has been already stated, that copper, lead, and iron had been found in South Australia in 1845 or 1846. Subsequently, and previous to 1850, several specimens of gold in fragments of quartz veins were found in the Blue Mountains in New South Wales, north of Sydney, with copper and lead. And Mr. Phillips, a Cornish miner from England, discovered gold in the detritus of the mountains north of Adelaide, in the vicinity of the Burra-Burra mines. The more important discoveries of the precious metal, however, did not immediately follow these revelations. In 1851 some localities where it was more abundant were found in the region of New South Wales contiguous to Sydney, since which others have followed in rapid succession, in the more southern parts of that colony. But the richest plazas have been discovered in the colony of Victoria, or Australia Felix, in which, at several points, gold has been obtained in great quantities. Discovery followed discovery in rapid succession; and as some of the later findings proved the better, the most extravagant expectations were cherished of obtaining wealth. When rich discoveries were made in the neighborhood of Sydney and the Macquarie River, the town of Melbourne became so much reduced in population that it was feared it would be absolutely deserted. But subsequently far richer spots were found in Victoria, and in the immediate vicinity of the city itself.

A writer in the *London Quarterly Review* for September, 1850, says that the English Home Government

had resolved not to enforce the English law of royalties, that is, not to exact of the digger a tithe or other portion of the treasure which might be found. But, according to late statements, it seems that a licensing system has been established, by which the digger is compelled to pay a license fee, amounting to £3, or fifteen dollars, a month, equal to one hundred and eighty dollars a year. This is exacted by a law of the local government; by what authority does not appear, but probably by virtue of that unlimited power which legislators frequently suppose to belong to their office, even in this country.

The formation of the gold-bearing tracts in Australia is described as similar to the gold regions of Siberia and California; and consists of the palæozoic, or older limestone rocks, with talc-schist and slate, cut through, as expressed, by granitic, felspathic, and quartzose rocks; and when first made known in England, Mr. Murchison expressed his opinion that where these occurred it might be expected that gold would be found.*

The quantity of gold obtained from the several diggings, during the last year, has been stated to be very large. We shall, before closing, present an authentic statement on this head, which seems to show the accounts from less reliable sources to be somewhat exaggerated. The principal seat of this wealth is in several localities of the district of Port Philip in Victoria colony, partly very near to Melbourne, and partly lying at the distance of one hundred miles from that city; and in the Bathurst and Wellington districts, west of Sydney, in New South Wales. From this source a very extensive commerce has, at once, sprung up in Great Britain and in this country. The former small number

* The expression "cut through," as used by the geological writers in describing this feature, is not, it seems to us, strictly scientific. The granitic and quartzose rocks do not, in fact, cut through the others, but, according to the geological theory, were formed first, and the others superposed, or afterwards placed on them. Neither does the idea appear philosophical, that gold exists only where the two formations unite. If, as is undoubtedly well proved, quartz is the matrix of gold, it is difficult to conceive why it should not be found in that rock under any situation and circumstances, as well as at the point where the transition, or later series of rocks, lay upon the quartz. Indeed, as we understand, the hypothesis does not exclude the idea of the existence of gold in quartz *anywhere*; but goes only to the extent, that it is not accumulated in considerable quantities, except where there is evidence of some posterior disturbing action.

of ships has so increased, that it was said recently that more than a hundred vessels were advertised at Liverpool, at one time, to sail for Australia. In this city, at about the same time, seven or eight first-class clipper ships were advertised, and a large number in New York. It has been stated that forty-nine vessels of all classes sailed from Boston for Australia in the year ending September 1st, 1850. They are mostly advertised as packet lines. At the same time, several merchants have gone out from our ports to establish commercial houses there; all betokening the commencement of a new and very active trade.

The export trade of the country, however, must be limited to the metals, not only at the present time, but in all time. Our outward ships may do a brisk, and perhaps a profitable business in carrying provisions and Yankee notions to the miners, but it is manifest that nothing can be brought away in return except metals, if the old arithmetical problem is still true, that, if you take nothing from nothing, the remainder is nothing; and it is equally demonstrable that the outward trade cannot be an increasing one, beyond a certain very narrow limit. Of all the known parts of the world, this continent is the least favored in natural resources. From the explorations made under authority of the English government it has been ascertained that, in the whole of the eastern and southern parts of the continent, the productive land is included within a strip of about one hundred and fifty miles of coast; except in the colony of Victoria, where it spreads to two hundred and two hundred and fifty miles. Beyond these lines, the explorations of Captain Sturt and Sir T. L. Mitchell and others, extending upwards of five hundred miles into the interior in various directions, resulted in the discovery only of the most inhospitable, uninhabitable, and horrible deserts. Every day's travel was at the peril of life, from the absence of water. The soil, principally decomposed sandstone, is incapable of production; and, allowing for an occasional oasis, it may be assumed that this desert, unmatched in the world for sterility, includes an area of twelve hundred miles in one direction, and something exceeding that in the other. It must result, not only that nothing can be produced for exportation, to any ex

tent, but also that the population must be so limited as to forbid the idea of very extensive importations. In 1848 the imports into New South Wales were valued at £ 1,556,550, or \$ 7,782,750 ; the exports at £ 1,830,368, or \$ 9,151,840. Of the latter £ 1,240,144 was wool, about two thirds of the whole. This article must always go to Great Britain. Western Australia imported in the same year to the amount of £ 45,411, or about \$ 227,000, and exported £ 29,598, or about \$ 148,000. The whole import of the country may have been about ten millions of dollars, and the export nearly as much.

It is true, both Major Mitchell and Mr. Hodgkinson describe portions of the New South Wales colony as highly fertile and beautiful; yet the former says that throughout this colony "one third probably consists of desert interior plains, *one fourth of land available for pasturage or cultivation*, and the remainder of rocky mountain, or impassable or unproductive country." The whole area of the continent may be stated at 2,400,000 square miles. The tract included in Major Mitchell's description is about 360,000, of which one fourth, or 90,000, is available. And this tract, being the best of the continent, of which about one half is desert, must contain, we think, one third, at least, of all the available land of the country, which would give us for the whole of the land that may be used for pastoral or agricultural purposes, on the whole continent, 270,000 square miles, equal to one ninth part only of the whole surface.

This consideration, that the outward commerce must be limited chiefly to the metals, and also the great interest which has been excited lately in this remote, forbidding, and hitherto disreputable land, in consequence of the gold discoveries, and the high expectations raised thereon, perhaps require at our hands a rather more extended and detailed notice of the gold regions.

The first discovery of gold existing in considerable quantities, so as to make the search for it an object of general industrial pursuit, was on the upper waters of the Macquarie River, in New South Wales, west from the port of Sydney, which has been known as the Bathurst Gold Field, comprising the country surrounding the town of Bathurst, about one hundred miles from

Sydney. From Mr. Lang we learn that it includes six tributaries of the Macquarie. The discovery occurred in 1851, little more than two years subsequent to the California discovery, and in the course of the year such was the rush to the mines, that the town of Melbourne, in the Port Philip district, became reduced nearly one half in population, or from 23,000 to 12,000, in that and the next year. The names of the streams are the Summerhill, Turon, Louisa, Merroo, Coodgegong, and Winburndale. Sutter appears to be a peculiarly fortunate name in the recent gold history; the discovery first made in California having been on the lands of Mr. Sutter, and some valuable deposits of the metal, among the early discoveries in Australia, were on lands owned by the same name on Winburndale Creek. The gold region is in a mountain district. Summerhill Creek is 3,010 feet above the sea, and Mount Canobolas 4,610 feet. Subsequently, in 1851, very rich deposits were found in Victoria, in the vicinity of Melbourne and at Mount Alexander, which drew off the miners from the first discoveries; but many have since returned. Beside the Bathurst Gold Field first mentioned, there were three other principal places in New South Wales where the gold was abundant. They were the Southern, or Araluen diggings, the Tuena, or Abercrombie River diggings, and Hanging Rock, or Peel River diggings. The Turon River, a branch of the Macquarie, is considered the richest deposit of the Bathurst Gold Field. The town of Bathurst is situated on the left bank of the Macquarie, at the elevation of 2,200 feet above the level of the sea, about forty miles to the north-west of which town gold in quantity was first found.

The precious metal has been also found to the North of the Bathurst field, at the head-waters of Clarence River, in New England. The whole range of what has been termed the Australian Alps, (which is the watershed of the eastern coast and the Darling River,) consisting of slate disposed perpendicularly, and traversed or cut through, as expressed, by granite or quartz, is supposed to be highly auriferous: the metal having been found at Wide Bay, $25\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S. lat., and at Mount Alexander and other places as far south as Melbourne, in latitude 38° .

The following account of the discovery of gold in

Australia is extracted from Dr. Lang. After quoting from Mr. Dana, naturalist of the Exploring Expedition of the United States, a description of the geological formation of the gold region of California, Dr. Lang proceeds :—

“ This description of the auriferous rocks of California might almost be taken for a description of the gold-bearing regions of Australia. But the discovery of gold in California was made by the merest accident, in the year 1848, and it was that accident that subsequently led to the discovery in Australia. During his residence in New South Wales, Count Strzelecki had intimated his belief that the Australian Andes were auriferous, and had even mentioned indications of gold as having been observed by himself to the westward of the Blue Mountains ; but the impression upon his own mind must have been very slight and transient, as he does not allude to the subject in his book. I have already observed that Dr. Leichhardt, when residing at the German Mission Station at Moreton Bay, in the year 1844, previous to his departure for Port Essington, had recommended the missionaries to search for gold towards the sources of the ‘ Brook Kidron,’ on which their station is situated, as he thought it highly probable that they would find the precious metal in that locality.* And the Rev. W. B. Clarke, a geologist of the highest standing in New South Wales, had repeatedly expressed his belief and conviction that the country to the westward of Bathurst was auriferous. Nay, small quantities of gold had repeatedly been found in the western country, especially by a Scotch shepherd of the name of McGregor ; and a nugget of three and a half ounces had been forwarded to the local government by an individual who proposed to open a mine, if he could obtain certain privileges of the government beforehand. None of these circumstances or statements, however, had made the slightest impression upon the public mind, or contributed in any way to the actual result.

“ Among the numerous body of adventurers who crossed over from the Australian colonies to California, on the report of the discovery of gold in that country, was Mr. Edward Hammond Hargraves, a highly intelligent and respectable colonist, who had resided for some time in the western interior of New South Wales. During his stay in California, Mr. Hargraves was employed, like most of the other Australian adventurers, in mining, and in the course of his researches with that view, he was greatly struck with the striking resemblance of the California

* Several degrees north of the Bathurst Gold Field.

gold country generally to a region with which he was quite familiar in New South Wales, and he naturally concluded that, if gold was found so extensively in such a country on the eastern coast of the Pacific, it would, in all probability, be found in a similarly formed country on the western. The more he saw of the country, the more strongly was this idea impressed upon his mind, till he resolved at length to return to New South Wales, to ascertain whether it was well founded. He did so accordingly, and on the 12th of February, 1851, he succeeded in discovering gold in Australia, in the very locality in which he was so strongly persuaded it would be found, namely, in the Lewis Ponds and Summerhill Creeks, and in the Macquarie and Turon Rivers, in the districts of Bathurst and Wellington. Mr. Hargraves makes no pretensions to geological science. He is merely a practical miner; but his powers of observation are evidently of the first order, and his conduct throughout the whole affair does him the highest credit. The local government presented Mr. Hargraves, at his own suggestion, with £ 500 to cover expenses, in part payment for his important discovery; referring it to the home government to determine what his proper remuneration should be, and in the mean time appointing him a Commissioner of Crown Lands to *prospect* in the gold regions."

Though some large masses of the metal have been found, as the lump which was picked up on Louisa Creek, in the commencement of the search, weighing 106 pounds, and though the public has been recently astonished with large stories of the amount of gold taken, which, according to some newspaper statements, exceeded the yield of the California diggings in 1852, yet it appears from authentic statements to have amounted to only from a little over one dollar to five dollars daily in the beginning. Mr. Hargraves, writing to the Colonial Secretary on the 2d of July, 1851, states the average on the Turon to have been from 15s. to 20s. a day to each man. Mr. Hardy, on the 8th of July, states it at the same, in the same locality. It is true, Mr. Hargraves, writing again to the Secretary on August 18th, says, "No part of California which I have seen has produced gold so generally, and to such an extent, as Summerhill Creek, the Turon River, and its tributaries"; but on the 9th of September he states the average obtained on the Abercrombie River at from 7s. to 10s. daily. And of the product of the Araluen diggings he says, on the 29th of September, the diggers are "earning on an

average 5*s.* per diem. Some few are making 10*s.*, and a solitary case or two of 20*s.*" And Mr. Hardy, the Chief Commissioner, in a letter of the 19th of October, says, "With respect to the production of gold in the Araluen Gold Field, I am of opinion, after a very careful inspection, that it is equal in productiveness to any other part of the colony, and but the commencement of a much more extensive digging than any in the Bathurst district." The average earnings he puts at not less than £ 1 (or five dollars) a day each. We have not the tables of the California results, but it seems to us that this must be much below the mark of those diggings.

The aggregate product, also, we believe to be less than that of California. Mr. Lang states that, up to the 26th of July, 1852, which includes over fourteen months from the commencement of the digging, there had been exported from New South Wales gold to the amount of £ 1,759,745, and the export from Port Philip had then, by the latest accounts, been about £ 2,400,000, or upwards of four millions sterling from both colonies (less than \$ 22,000,000). The yield of the Port Philip diggings, though absolutely much larger than those of New South Wales, was in fact much less per head, there having been 50,000 diggers in the Port Philip diggings, and only 15,000 in the others. The discovery was made, in the Port Philip district, of the Ballarat Gold Field in August, 1851, and of the Mount Alexander soon after. They had not, therefore, been worked quite a year at the time just named.

From this view of the productiveness of the gold fields of Australia, as compared with those of California, taken in connection with the license fee or excise of \$ 180 per annum, and the difference between the ordinary rate and amount of taxation in England and America, it would appear to be an error of judgment that should lead an American to try his fortunes in the Australian mines rather than in California. The acquisition is also less secure in Australia. The old convict population sends out swarms to those points where the successful miner is most to be found, and the last chapter of his gold history frequently records the fact, that all his gold has been appropriated by a more fortunate gold-seeker, operating in the pocket or the chest.

The observation of some travellers has discovered, or surmised, that the continent is of recent formation. It is represented as presenting for the most part a flat, sandy surface, little elevated above the sea, nearly destitute of vegetation, interspersed with some isolated mounds or elevations, and having marine shells and marks of the subsidence of water upon it. "My impression," says Captain Sturt, "when travelling the country to the west and northwest of the marshes of the Maquarie, was that I was travelling a country of comparatively recent formation. The sandy nature of the soil, the great want of vegetable decay, the salsolaceous character of the plants, the appearance of its isolated hills and flooded tracts, and its trifling elevation above the sea, severally contributed to strengthen these impressions on my mind."

The natural history of this country has much that is altogether peculiar to itself and different from the rest of the world. The Mammalia comprise only fifty-three species, as stated in the Penny Cyclopædia, Art. "Australia," of which forty-three, or about four fifths, are Marsupialia, or of that tribe who carry the young in a pouch. The whole of these fifty-three species are peculiar to the country. The ten species not of the Marsupialia are two of the Cheiroptera, or bats, one of the Carnivora, a dog, five Rodentia, and two Edentata. The Ruminantia, or ruminating animals, are wholly wanting. The prevalence of Marsupialia, almost amounting to a monopoly of the mammalian department of land animals, forms a strong peculiarity in the zoölogy of the country; five of the rat and weasel kind, one dog and two bats, and the two amphibious Edentata, duck-billed, — whose rank as Mammalia seems not quite settled, — being all of the class that are not marsupial, except those inhabiting the sea. In the department of ornithology Australia is remarkable for the absence of all the gallinaceous birds, and for the presence of that "*rara avis in terris*," the black swan. This is rather smaller than its white congener, which has had the honor of being sung by the poets, and has a longer neck, and, it is said, more grace, than the white. The emu is a gigantic bird, whose wings will not sustain a flight, whose flesh is of very agreeable flavor, and forms a luxuriant viand greatly esteemed by the English set-

tlers; it is mentioned by Malte-Brun as a species of casowary. Mr. Howitt mentions the soldier-bird (it does not appear whether the same as the flamingo), a small water-hen, and he and others many varieties of the pigeons and most of the birds known in England. He mentions also a late-found sloth. In fact, the classification given of Mammalia above must be taken only as partial, including such animals as were known at the time, but not all of the class on the continent.

The botany of the country is not less peculiar in its organization than the zoölogy. A large proportion of the genera among its plants, and indeed even some entire natural orders, are confined to this continent, or do not extend beyond the neighboring islands. Several species of the *Acacia* have been well known for years among us, having been domesticated in our green-houses and gardens. This is the most numerous genus of the Australian vegetable kingdom. The *Eucalyptus* also includes many species. Some of these, which are mentioned by travellers under the common name of gum-trees, are of a large size, being one hundred and fifty feet in height, and from thirty to forty in girth. The *Callitris*, a species of pine (or, as described, a genus), is represented as a very stately and beautiful tree; and there is one called the celery-topped pine, whose leaves resemble, in appearance and in taste, the plant from which it is so named. A singular tree, called the grass-tree, appears like a boughless stump, but bearing at its extreme topmost point a tuft resembling long grass. In New South Wales, from Sydney to Moreton Bay, near the sea-coast, Hodgkinson, Mitchell, and others mention the cedar, rosewood, fig-trees, nettle-trees, and plum-trees on the bottoms, and black-butt, myrtle, turpentine, corkwood, and mahogany in the mountains; also ironwood, lightwood, sassafras, Australian tamarind, box, Australian palms, and brush fig-tree. These are mostly different from trees bearing the same names in other countries. The cedar is distinguished into red and white; but both are wholly different from trees having those designations among us. Both are deciduous, and of large size. The Australian tamarind is not the same as the Indian tamarind; and the mahogany and rosewood differ from the woods known to us under those names. Many of these, and others, are peculiar to the country.

After a residence in Victoria, or Australia Felix, near to the city of Melbourne, three months, Mr. Richard Howitt thus describes this part of the country in a letter to his brother: "We have been here a quarter of a year, and ought by this time to know something of Australia Felix. Whence it derived this felicitous name, God knows, and Major Mitchell; but certainly not from the nature of the country. It is however deservedly called *the Land of Promise*, performance being yet in speculation. The land has grown gold to those who have bought and sold it, almost, at present, its only growth. It is neither a land of rivers and springs of water, nor does it overflow with milk and honey; honey there is none, and milk is 6d. per pint."

Mr. Howitt represents the weather as hot and dry in the extreme in summer, in winter cold, with great and sudden changes. The soil, he says, is not so good as was represented to them in England. "Many who came out with us are dissatisfied; some will return as soon as they have realized their expenses out to England."

To sum up the characteristics of Australia, as found from English writers having a most intimate personal acquaintance with the country described, the soil is, about eight or nine tenths, utterly unsuited to cultivation and to the wants of man; and is greatly deficient in that first of all necessary things, water. Its climate is uncomfortable from the excess of heat, and from sudden and extreme vicissitude. It has been mentioned that Captain Sturt's thermometer rose to 137° and burst. He says also, "In the morning we sat by a fire to warm, and in six hours the thermometer stood at 104°." Mr. Howitt says the heat was so great, and the atmosphere so dry, that "books have their covers curled up as if you had been reading by a hot fire" (p. 103). This was in early summer, December 7th, and on July 3d, or mid-winter, the thermometer was as low as 25° in the morning, with ice, and at noon, so sudden and intense was the change that it was up to 85° (p. 219), which is extremely warm summer weather with us in Massachusetts. A change of 60° in six hours seems to us utterly incredible, complaining as we do of our changeable climate, and rarely having half that degree of change in twenty-four hours. Mr. Howitt further says (p. 222): "Cold weather there

is intensely cold, principally in the winter nights. In the Australian day and night in winter are often concentrated the four seasons of the year; it is deep winter a little before the dawn, spring breathes about you about nine or ten o'clock in the forenoon, fierce summer scorches you in the afternoon, and the gloom of evening comes down upon you with an autumnal feeling." Though its agricultural capacity is small, as has been shown, its mineral resources are very good. Captain Sturt informs us that the mines of iron are productive, and those of copper and lead very abundant. Its coal must lay undisturbed for want of a market. The great wealth of the country is its gold, in the abundance of which it is not exceeded in the world, so far as known, unless it be in California. This is, at least, the present appearance. Though, as gold is usually found most abundantly on or near the surface, it is not yet certain to what amount it may be obtained; or whether it will hold out correspondently with present expectation.

W. J. A. B.

ART. III. — MEMORIES.

A SELF-CONFERENCE AT THREESCORE.

A GREAT deal has been written and said of the pleasures of memory; a thousand times more has been felt of its pains. I have sometimes thought, not only that its pains greatly exceed its pleasures, but that it can hardly be said, in serious strictness, to have any thing in it that deserves to be called by the name of pleasure. My mind has been strongly impressed with this idea for a long time; — not as if this were something peculiar to my temperament, or attaching itself to my time of life, but as if the fact was one of general experience, and would be found true, not merely on the ground of personal considerations, but from an attentive examination of that faculty itself. It would be better, so far as mere enjoyment is concerned, — mere enjoyment, — if we had no such power; if there were no dark background behind us, from which thoughts and events steal forth into

the light of their dependent and retrospective life; if the past could *be* past and fall into utter forgetfulness; if we could exist from hour to hour only, provided the present could be beautifully filled, and the future could shine towards us in hope and desire. I am aware that such a provision for us is scarcely conceivable, except in the wildest fancy. I am sensible that it would be a mean thing to desire such an enjoyment, because it would cut us off from the appointed happiness of an intellectual and moral nature. We would not forfeit that. We should rather try to live up to our noble necessity. We must float on between the two eternities, as God has decreed, though it is a solemn consciousness that we must. I wish to look a little more closely at this endowment of Memory, with single reference to the point now indicated. Its sorrows,—how gloomy, how disturbing, how desperate, how deathly! Its pleasures what hollow ghosts and mocking shadows!

It seems to me, as I meditate, that Memory has three distinct offices; if I ought not rather to say, that it is to be looked at from three distinct points of view. First, there is what I would call the Constitutive Memory. It is that which is elemental in us, a part of our intellectual composition, mingled with our other capacities, and thus constituting us what we are. The second is the Pictorial or Imaginative Memory; that which restores to us vividly the scenes of a former time, so as to make us live in them again. The third is the Reflective Memory, that which does more than behold afresh the figures that Time has swallowed up, and converse with them as if they still existed; which carries with it also the reason and moral judgment to bear directly upon them.

With regard to the first of these, the memory considered simply as a component part of our being, it leaves untouched all question either of pleasure or pain. It has no more to do with the sensibilities than the understanding has. It is a province of the human mind, and nothing further. As such, it is so indispensable, that, without it, no course of regulated conduct could be pursued, and no process of reasoning of any kind would be possible. The simplest sum in arithmetic could not be computed, nor the plainest logical conclusion drawn, nor a consistent step taken forward in the world. It min-

gles with all our crowding thoughts. It guides all our judgments. It retains for us and is continually repairing such knowledge as we possess, and leads forward to more knowledge. Though it does not create our personal identity, it manifests that identity. It is the only voucher we have that we continue to be the same persons we formerly were. On this account, it is of immense moral importance. But, thus far, it only shows its extreme value to us in our intellectual and practical life. It does not yet profess to be a treasury of sensations, whether of one kind or another.

In its second aspect, as pictorial or imaginative, Memory begins to enter the realm of sensibility, and touches some of the coarser springs of pleasure and pain. I say some of the coarser, because it is connected as yet only with that faculty of the mind which spontaneously and often unconsciously repeats and reproduces the subjects of a former experience. It partakes of the nature of dreams and visions, and can hardly be said to be more substantial than they. Sometimes of its own accord, but oftener involuntarily, it calls up events or scenes that were once delightful to us. According to the vividness of these paintings, and almost in direct proportion to our forgetfulness of their real nature, they affect us with a lively sensation of enjoyment. Some men love to live upon this old, perished capital, and in this dreamy way. But if they do, it is because they are unwilling to remember that they are bankrupts, and that they have something to be employed about awake. It is from mere sluggishness, as of one who prefers to lie in half-slumber, divided between fantasies and oblivion, rather than rouse himself thoroughly, and bathe in fresh water, and see the sun rise, and dress himself for the occupations and earnest service in which he is to find his real joy. So much for these images when they are of an agreeable kind,—when they are the true and undistorted copies of past enjoyments. There is no genuine life in them, and they impart no life. They are but idle phantasms. But these images will not always be thus pleasant. They will be much the reverse very often. And in that case they are not merely shadows, with their sides colored by the mock hues of reality, but altogether spectral and ghastly. They are so many supernumeraries added to the amount of disagreeable impressions.

We are apt, I think, to confound in idea two very different faculties, hope and imagination. Naturally enough. They are close companions, and hope can live only in what it fancies. They are nevertheless separate endowments. Great account was made of the imagination in the philosophy of certain Stoics. One of them, Musonius Rufus, becomes almost unintelligible in the excess of his praise, when he says: "Of the things that exist, God has put some in our power and has withheld others. In the number of the first is a gift, the most beautiful and useful that could be bestowed upon man, — a gift which alone can render him happy. If well employed, it assures to us liberty, tranquillity, firmness, joy." Ah! an overstrained philosophy or a poetical rapture may celebrate it ever so much. All the boast fades before that splendid answer of the banished Bolingbroke to his father Gaunt, in Richard II., which thus sums up its denial: —

"O no! the apprehension of the good
Gives but the greater feeling to the worse."

Akenside wrote a poem, that used to be read many years ago, on the "Pleasures of the Imagination." It does even less to render its subject attractive, than the excellent Mr. Rogers has done for the "Pleasures of Memory." I can think of but two passages of it that left their mark upon my young mind. One of them is quite lofty, beginning, —

"Say, why was man so eminently raised
Amid the vast creation?"

The other is a fervid eulogy, that has been often repeated, of that musty conspirator, Marcus Brutus, — the most short-sighted of patriots, and the most ungrateful of men.

I come now to the Reflective Memory, — the memory in its full stature and activity, and all its offices, — conscious of itself, and questioning and sometimes wrestling with the shapes that itself creates. Here lies the great stress of the subject. Every thing that I have thought before is only the door-way to it. The whole moral nature is now concerned in what it unfolds. What we call sentiment comes in. What we feel to be conscience comes in. And a great entrance does each of

them make, with its long train of attendants. I must look at each of these in succession. In this way I may hope to inclose in outline my entire view, and define it with something like distinctness to my own mind.

And first, of the domain of Sentiment, by which word I think I mean our sensitive and thoughtful nature simply as such, and apart from all ideas of praise and blame, and the effects produced upon it, whether mournful or cheerful, by our acts of recollection not considered strictly as moral acts. Will the mournful or the cheerful be the more likely to prevail here? Not the latter, I think. We are apt to suppose that the memory of every pleasure, moral judgments being by supposition excluded, will be a pleasure itself. This is by no means so. Poor Francesca says, in Dante: —

“ Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del Tempo felice
Nella miseria.”

There is no greater sorrow
Than to remember former days of pleasure
When we're in misery.

Every one must be struck with the pathetic justice of this complaint. But take away the word “miser,” and substitute for it merely loss or destitution, and the thought will be a just one still. Not only is it an aggravation of a grief to remember the opposite joy that once stood in the place of it, but it is a grief of itself to reflect that we possess no longer the objects of past delight. The example I have just cited may seem to be not exactly in point, because Francesca had been guilty, and the scene is laid in the realms of penal woe. But the poet does not here introduce any idea of penitence; and his expressions are equally true without it, and much more touchingly beautiful. But I reflect upon another scene in the under-world, described in holier writ, into which that idea does enter largely. It is forced painfully upon my thought, so that I must speak of it, though it does not belong to this part of my theme. Never was so terrible a rebuke couched in such gentle language as we read in that parable: “Son, *remember* that thou in thy lifetime hadst thy good things.”

I am aware that there are some circumstances and

some considerations which may qualify very materially the assertion just made. We may enjoy with great zest a remembered gratification, when it will have its season to return, or if we may hope to taste it again. But when it is for ever perished and gone! what then? We may connect some thoughts of personal achievement with it, as when Goldsmith's crippled soldier

"Shouldered his crutch, and showed how fields were won";

or we may mix it with some other thoughts that minister to our self-love; and so it may be made to retain something of its early charm. But I believe that the general truth is what I have stated it to be. The most delicately organized minds will be the most keenly alive, I suspect, to the fact. It is true that another poet, perhaps too much despised at present, has spoken of "the memory of the joys that are past" as "pleasant and mournful to the soul." The heart responds to that also, and owns that there is a truth in it. But it is far from being an animating truth. The mournfulness is more than the pleasantness. The Divine Framer has annexed some kind and degree of satisfaction to the exercise of all the faculties with which he has endowed us. There is a pleasure in pity, even while it is aching and striving for the object of it. Sympathy borrows its name from suffering, but carries its reward in its bosom. "The luxury of woe" is not a mere figure of rhetoric, though it is a pretty strong one. Patience and fortitude are capable of a joy peculiar to themselves, and higher than can be conceived of by the contrary dispositions that have nothing to trouble them. The smile that comes through tears is the brightest of any. But what is the bearing of all this upon my present meditation? It may easily be computed. It only shows that the exercise of the memory upon the forms of past enjoyment has a sort of plaintive music for the contemplative mind; that it is sweet, like every other kind of tranquil thought. But we can hardly put such things among the joys of life. They are too solemn for that.

Another consideration here comes up, the counterpart to the one just described. I have seen that the most careful retracing of past pleasures can give but a faint transcript of them, and excite but a faint emotion of

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them, and that there is a tinge of melancholy over them all from the reflection that they will not come again. And now how is it with the memory of past sorrows? The heaviest of these cannot truly be said to be past. They are sorrows still, and will lie upon us till total forgetfulness sets the poor heart at rest. This is admirably expressed by grand Sir Walter, when he contrasts his "sweet Teviot" with "the tide of human time," —

"That, darker as it downward bears,
Is stained with past and present tears."

Grand Sir Walter! I cannot write the name that will always remain an enchanted one to me, without marvelling that the poetical fame of it is already growing low in the praises of many; being thrust aside for the gloomy tangles of Shelley, the dainty flimsinesses of Keats, the subtile word-weavings of Coleridge, the solemn prosiness of Wordsworth, the melodious quaintnesses of Tennyson, the termagancies of Alexander Smith, the bewilderingments of Browning and Bailey, and the "subjective" profoundnesses of other poets of "insight."

We are told that there is a pleasure in remembering difficulties that have been surmounted; dangers that have been escaped; troubles that have been outlived; and those griefs happily over, which are of such a kind that they can really pass over.

"Et hæc olim meminisse juvabit,"

says the hero of the *Æneid*; — "Even such hardships as these there will hereafter be a delight in remembering." Certainly he was thus holding out to his companions an encouraging motive for perseverance, and a well-grounded motive too. The greater the toil, the more welcome the repose that follows it. The more arduous the conflict, the more valued the victory. The comfort of a firm foot upon the tree-bearing land is a feeling that must be bought by being tossed upon the deep. Ease is no paradise till anguish has made it so. These are familiar facts repeated till they are truisms. But nevertheless, besides that there are some perils and sufferings which can never afterwards be thought of without a shudder, I doubt whether the remembrance of any is in itself pleasant. The ugly or frightful figure

can image back nothing but itself. Its reflex charm, if it have any, must be derived from something else that is associated with it, — something that relieves, or something that flatters us. There is a pleasure in telling of the rough accidents, which we should not be much pleased to be calling up before our own minds if we could not rehearse them in the ears of others. Men are more inclined, I think, to relate the strange mishaps, things terrible and adverse, that they have been called to encounter, than to describe any remarkable successes that have attended them, or any transports that they have been inspired with. The reason is plain. They thus gain more attention from those who listen, and affect more deeply their minds. They rise into a sort of importance from what they have been through. Shakespeare's Henry V. urges his soldiers with this spur: —

“He that shall live this day, and see old age,
Will yearly on the vigil feast his friends,
And say, To-morrow is Saint Crispian :
Then will he strip his sleeve, and show his scars,
And say, These wounds I had on Crispin's day.”

I come to the conclusion, then, that reflections upon past troubles are themselves troubles, though in a diminished way, unless they are combined with other reflections, that for some reason and to some extent are favorable to our self-esteem.

And now I stand at the highest point of my subject, — the Judicial Memory; — the memory that reviews the moral qualities of our actions; the memory that accuses or commends us; the memory that must become punishment and reward. It is no longer a mere faculty or endowment. It is not so much a voluntary power within us as an established decree over us. We cannot forget. What is done must remain, not only irrevocable, but ineffaceable. This stern fact, when pondered deeply, may appear to be the most alarming necessity under which our nature lies. “Yes, but let us be thankful for it,” says a cheerful voice beside me; — a cheerful one, but it is plain to me that it is making some effort to be so; or if it is entirely natural, it is not entirely joyful; there is a sober tone in it, that seems on the point of falling into the opposite key. But let me listen to what it has further to say. “You see here a crowning distinc-

tion of the Divine image you are formed in. Be glad that none of your self-approving memories can be taken away from you. You have here a perpetual source of satisfaction, and are beyond the power of fortune. Then think what a pure and noble, as well as permanent, satisfaction it is. How it lifts the mind above evil tongues and evil accidents, not allowing you to fear what can be said or done against you! What a protection it spreads around, and what a peace it infuses within! Nothing of the world's goods can compare with its riches. The spiciest flowers are not so fragrant, and the most sumptuous dainties are not so sweet, as it is, — and this without cloying and without stop." As far be it from my thought as it has always been from my profession, to derogate from the exceeding preciousness of this main fountain of comfort for man's advancing life! But I will be careful not to preach while I am only talking to myself; especially as the theme now becomes so tempting, on the one hand, to declamation, and, on the other, to expressions of the profoundest religious awe. Let me look with a perfectly dispassionate eye upon the pleasure of remembering the things that our consciences praise us for. Doubtless there is such a pleasure; and in certain circumstances it may be worth to us more than any thing else. It refreshes the weary, and encourages the dispirited; when they muse upon the mysteries of their passing days. There is great comfort, if we are blamed, to feel that we have not deserved it, and if we meet with misfortunes, to be aware of no wrong of ours that brought them on. And if this seems too negative and too pale a joy, I must admit, further, that lively emotions of more than content may arise in the soul at the retrospect of faithful services rendered to others, or instances of a still better fidelity practised towards the obligations that belong peculiarly to our secret selves. Still, the pleasure must be allowed to be a very sober kind of pleasure. I am loath to think, also, how much of the peace of a good conscience may be resolved into the mere feeling of protection against obloquy and against fear; how much of our self-commendation may be but the echo of the praises of other people, or only the complacency of reputable circumstances; how many of the favors we have conferred were for the favor

that we could win, at least in the shape of gratitude or affection or applause; and how little the highest and most disinterested virtues we have ever displayed can confer upon our remembrance, that is not found in the present exercise of the good dispositions that prompted them. But I go further than this. I must look back with a very mixed emotion upon the best that has been in me and that has been accomplished by me. The delights that I can imagine to flow into the memory of another from this source, I but imperfectly partake of. How deficient with me has every thing been! The memory that I have done any thing well, is the memory also that I did no more. I may try to persuade myself that it was all I could, but it was not all I could. "Be merciful to me a sinner," whispers strangely out of my secret consciousness over the whole of it. I have loved my friends and partners, and endeavored to contribute something to their happiness. But they are gone, and I did not love them half enough, and the measure of my service to them was but half filled up, — scanty when it was not grudged. O that I could have them back, if it were only for an hour, that I might then show them all that the memory of them awakens in my heart! And this is but one example from a great host. There is something absolutely painful in the idea of the blemishes, the shortcomings, the alloys of what a vain spirit extols as its chief praise. O the failings of temper, and the evil thoughts though they never ripened, and the reluctances to keep in the right, and the accidents which were all that kept me in the right at last! I will bless the Providence that has spared me from doing worse; but I am afraid to bless myself for the poor performances, that were wrought but through its leading hand and must be committed with the deepest humility to its forbearing sentence. Memory does not help me here, then, to gratifications so high as it is usually represented to impart. The felicity that is to crown it, if ever, lies not behind us, but further on.

The last point in the subject at length faces me, and I must look at it. It is the memory of misdeeds; of injuries that cannot be repaired or atoned for; of sins which will appear worse at every retrospection, as we recede further from the temptations that at first hid their offence,

and from the enjoyments that at first sweetened it. If the mention of our well-deserving can bring but a troubled joy, what can the rehearsal of our ill-deservings awaken in us but an unmingled misery? I suppose that remorse, coupled, as it always must be, with the torment of fear, is the most harrowing grief of which the mind is capable. Here are displayed the features of Divine Judgment. Here is opened the gate of infernal pain. I once heard Dr. Chalmers preach, and the chief aim of his discourse was to show that the anguish of a convict soul at the recollection of its guilt transcends all those descriptions of penal fire which have been chosen to represent it. This truth has been made as impressive by the novels that every one reads, as it could be by the eloquence of the most famous divine. We all admit the warning fact. And as I meditate upon it, I say, If I could ever think of such a thing as weighing against each other the pleasures and pains of memory, this consideration alone would make the scale sink at once that was charged with such a weight of sorrows.

I have thus tried to follow out a short course of analytic thought upon a great practical subject. I know that I have but just touched some of its borders. It has more points than I have fingers, and it is too broad for my hand. I will speculate on it no further, but will gather up some conclusions from what has now passed through my mind, that I may employ them for future guidance. The moral uses of memory are all that need much concern me, or any man. To these the grand laws of our being have chief respect. In these every question of the mere enjoyments or troubles that we derive from it may well be swallowed up. I am made to look "before and after"; but to look after, only that I may look before the better. I will not be living indolently and unprofitably in the past time. Its tents have been struck, and I will resist the tendency to keep exploring backward for the trampled grass, and the dear fires now turned to ashes, which they once covered with their protection. I will not try to color up with life what has faded into dreams; and I will not suffer the shadows of what is gone to be lengthened and deepened by my unavailing regrets. Hope is better than memory, and faith is better than hope; and a faithful employment and en-

joyment of each flying day may be made as good as the whole three. No. I will not remember to repine, or even to repent. How should I be profited by either, or by one any more than the other? What is wasted cannot be replenished thus, and what has been done amiss cannot, by such a going over again, be done better. I do not really live but in what I am doing, and in what I am, at the present moment. I will go back for instruction, but not for any amusement of an idle mind or a vain or a passionate heart. I will seize and redeem from that hollow repository, where nothing speaks that has consciousness and nothing moves that has breath, the instruments that will be useful for further activity; and nothing that I can help shall be sought out from it of meaner value. If I bring forth the faded records of now many years, it shall be to write thankfulness upon all their margins, and to add other and fresh pages, that, with God's blessing, may be brighter than they.

Every one may have observed, who would, that the memory is the first of our better powers to yield to the pressure of age.* The judgment is the last to give way. The affections resist it for ever. The inference is obvious enough. We may attach too sensitive an importance to the first of these. The last is the immortal sphere in which we are lovingly to dwell; and it is this that calls for our chief concern.

I am now standing at that point of life when even the forbearance of Roman computation disallowed the title of young, and when the rigor of the very Roman discipline dismissed its soldier from the field. But I remember the instances not a few of those who, after the "four-score years" which we speak of full often enough as nothing but "labor and sorrow," rode under their helmets still; and I firmly believe that there are qualities of youth which do not care much for the calendar, but can live at the core of our being when they have shrunk from the limb and dimmed from the eye and lost color from the face of man and woman. We have our service too, though not in armor. It is not Time that dismisses us from it, and,

* In Bayle's article on *Ménage*, there are some interesting illustrations of this fact. There are also some fine Latin lines, written by that prodigy of memory, *Ménage* himself, in whom this faculty failed when he became old, but was restored to him as he grew older.

with grace to speed, we shall not be incapable of it. We talk too readily of becoming such exempts and such incompetents. We grow old in imagination too fast, — *nous autres*, — and so are less than our fathers. Whatever dreary result the Heavenly Providence may ordain, let me take care that it shall be the work of that Providence alone, and that no sick fancies or startled apprehensions of mine lay any hand there.

My subject here fairly closes, and, in fact, overstepped itself before it closed. But I will set down one word more, if it is only that I may not forget it. My thoughts have been lately turned towards an account, that might be made very interesting, and would of itself be full of encouragement, — that of the intellectual exploits of the aged. More than sixty years had turned their backs upon Bacon and Leibnitz and Locke, more than seventy upon Kant and Reid, when their most memorable writings were begun. But these were philosophers. I will remember, then, that the sun of more than three-score summers was shining on the darkened eyes of Milton when his *Samson Agonistes*, and the great sequel to the greatest sacred epic of our language and of modern times, sprung to light. St. Augustine revised for circulation the works that amaze modern scholarship with the profound intricacies of their subjects and the huge volumes of their contents, when he was seventy-three years old. Cassiodorus, a statesman before he became a monastic, was ninety-three when his favorite study of Language found him still employed with his pen. The most learned of the Romans, Varro, was an octogenarian when he wrote his treatise on Farming; and, best of all, it was dedicated to Fundania, his wife, at whose instance it was composed. The most illustrious scourger of Roman degeneracy, Juvenal, was but little short of that age, when his thirteenth and fifteenth satires showed that nothing of the former vigor or skill was lost. Strabo, the prince of Grecian geographers, was still further advanced when his folios were first taken in hand. Aristobulus, one of the generals of Alexander the Great, made it the amusement of his eighty-fourth year to write the history of his young commander. Plato was laboring cheerfully upon his books of *The Laws*, at a period of life when the ninetieth Psalm, if he could have read it in its un-

translated Hebrew, would have pointed its grim text at him, but in vain. Sophocles, the warrior dramatist, wrote his "Œdipus at Colonus" at the age of ninety; and the critics who find it somewhat tamer than his "Œdipus King," find only the natural difference between a palace and a cottage scene, and between the Theban hero himself in his martial and his secluded days. There is nothing in the piece that is unworthy of its author's fame. Isocrates, Milton's "old man eloquent," spanned almost a century, and kept his reputation to the last. At the age of eighty-two he composed the masterly oration in which he defended his profession against the aspersions of Plato.* Then there was Theophrastus, the disciple, friend, and successor of "the mighty Stagirite," to whom that most really philosophic mind of the Grecian world committed his writings. He was a scholar and a teacher, and something better than that, a man of great public and private service. Tradition assigns to him an age further advanced than can be soberly believed in; and when he left the world, it was not as if delivered from a prison, but taking a reluctant farewell of the light. He chided with Nature, Cicero tells us, that she should bestow a protracted existence upon the stag and the crow, who did not need it, and withhold it from man, who could continually bring so much to pass. He complained that, when he was but beginning to see things as they were, he should be "extinguished." Doubtless he was unreasonable in that complaint; and doubtless he was in error when he supposed that human improvement would be advanced by the further extension of the term of human life. But who can help admiring the courageous manhood that could express itself in such words as his? And who will refuse to bless that Nature with which he found fault, that she has made it possible to carry our poor faculties here on the earth so far and so well?

Examples such as have now come to my mind might be multiplied to almost any extent by those who would make this subject one of special research. I have no purpose in pursuing it even so far as this, but to record an animating lesson against the desponding thoughts

* Grote's Greece, Vol. VIII. p. 490, *note*.

that tempt men to give over too soon, and allow that portion of their permitted time to be darkened which most needs to be cheered, and keep them looking back and hanging back, instead of going on with their faces forward and their feet in the path, till they "rest and stand in their lot," — ay, and stand steadfastly, too, — "at the end of the days."

One who neither expects nor asks, for his part, that this end may be set a very great way off, who has no achievements in prospect to solicit the notice of men, and who is conscious that he has not the least fame of any kind either to keep or to win, sends out this private meditation to see if it can find a reader, and to try if it can be of some little benefit elsewhere than within himself.

ART. IV. — ROMANISM IN ITS WORSHIP.*

It is commonly thought that the true and specific service which the Protestant Reformation rendered to the Christian religion consists in the redemption from Papal authority, and the substitution of private judgment for ecclesiastical infallibility as a rule of faith. We fully appreciate this deliverance, which, however imperfect as yet, was happily initiated by the Saxon Reformer, and has steadily advanced since the Saxon schism.

But it seems to us that an equally important result of that schism was the revolution effected by it in Christian worship, — its abolition of the Mass and of idolism; the preponderance given to intellectual over material action in the service of the Church; the substitution of intelligent speech for manipulation and dumb show.

* 1. *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Œcumenical Council of Trent, celebrated under the Sovereign Pontiffs Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV.* Translated by the REV. J. WATERWORTH. *To which are prefixed Essays on the External and Internal History of the Council.* — Session XXII. "On the Sacrifice of the Mass." Session XXV. "Purgatory. Invocation of Saints. Images." London: C. Dolman. 1848. 8vo. pp. 326.

2. *Rome Païenne.* Par NAPOLÉON ROUSSEL. Paris. 1848. Tract. pp. 32.

Protestantism charges the Church of Rome with idolatry in its worship. This is no new charge; it was made long before Protestantism made it. It was made before the Saxon schism, and before the Greek schism, and before Rome had attained that ascendancy in the Christian world which it finally usurped. The charge was first made, not by opposing sections of Christendom, but by those who had never been enlightened by the truth in Christ, by disciples of another name. It was made by Mohammedans. So degraded had Christianity become in the seventh century, that, when Mohammed and his followers encountered it in their missionary ravages, it presented itself to their zeal as one of the idolatrous religions of the world which Islam was bound to exterminate. It would be difficult to find an instance of perversion more monstrous than this, — that a religion professing the name of Him who taught that the true worship is not in this temple or that mountain, but in spirit and in truth, should come to be looked upon with abhorrence for that very vice of false religion which its Founder aimed to abolish; that the followers of Mohammed could be shocked by the idolatry of the followers of Christ; that the religion of the Prophet of Mecca could claim, and justly claim, to be more spiritual than that of the Prophet of Nazareth.

It might seem unjust to charge the Roman Church with the blame of a practice in which Eastern Christendom was implicated as well as the West, did not Rome assume to have been from the first the *Catholic* Church, the responsible Head of the Christian world, and did we not know from history that the Roman ecclesiastics were chiefly instrumental in maintaining and enforcing the worship of images, in opposition to repeated efforts on the part of the Eastern authorities to eradicate this offence.

The practice of image-worship in the Christian Church was a gradual growth from a very natural beginning. It seems to have originated in the honors paid to those who had died martyrs to the Christian faith. Their dust was cherished with pious affection, and came in the progress of superstition to be invested with miraculous powers by the easy faith of a wonder-loving age. The bones of the martyrs were believed to cure diseases and to cast

out devils. They (the martyrs) were then invoked as intercessors who, from their sainted seats at the right hand of God, could aid the endeavors and succor the distresses of those who still struggled with their earthly load ; — a pleasing fancy and a harmless one, had it not diverted the attention of the worshipper from the One Supreme, and fixed it on limited and inferior sanctities. But such, alas ! is the uniform and unavoidable consequence of homage rendered in the name of religion to finite powers. It is in vain to contend that the saint is not worshipped as God, and to make distinctions of *δουλεία* and *λατρεία* in the service of the Church. The fact is, that just in proportion as homage is paid to saints and inferior names, it is withdrawn from the only true and living God. We venture to say, that in Italy ten thousand prayers are offered to the Virgin for one that is made to God. The Council of Trent attempts to define, and says, “ We adore Christ, and we *venerate*, through their images, the saints.” But the prayers to the Virgin and the prayers to Christ, in Italy, begin with the same words, *Io vi adoro*.

The worship of images naturally succeeded the worship of consecrated dust and the invocation of saints, but not without a struggle on the part of many enlightened and conscientious Christians, in whose faith a strong leaven of primitive Christianity, of Jewish Christianity, still remained. The primitive Christians had derived from Judaism a rooted hostility to all sensible representations in the likeness of man, as objects of devotion or as aids to devotion. The early Fathers condemned, in the most unequivocal terms, the use of statues and pictures in that connection. Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian pronounced the very arts of painting and sculpture to be unlawful and bad. Lactantius ridicules the use of images by the heathen. “ These foolish men,” says he, “ do not see that, if those images were capable of feeling and emotion, they would themselves adore the artists by whom they were executed.” In spite of this authority, scarcely had a hundred years elapsed from the time when Lactantius wrote, before the Christian Church became a party to that very superstition which he and his great contemporaries had censured in the Pagan worship.

Early in the fifth century, the images of such as had been distinguished by superior sanctity were admitted into the churches and other consecrated places; at first only as local embellishments and as memorials of the sainted dead, but in process of time as objects sacred in themselves, and as mediating "the propitious presence of the saints or celestial beings whom they represented." "By a slow but inevitable progression," says the historian, "the honors of the original were transferred to the copy; the devout Christian prayed before the image of a saint, and the Pagan rites of genuflexion, of lights, and incense, stole into the Catholic Church. The scruples of reason or piety were silenced by the strong evidence of visions and miracles. Pictures which could speak and move and bleed must be endowed with divine energy, and might be considered proper objects of religious adoration."* The first significant rebuke of this practice — which, before the close of the sixth century, had become as firmly established as any part of Christian worship — came, as we have said, from the purer doctrine of an alien faith. The Mohammedans charged the Christians with idolatry, and the charge derived additional weight from the rapid success of the Mohammedan arms. The cities of Egypt and of Syria had fortified themselves with images of Christ and the saints; and, vainly trusting in their protection, had fallen before the victorious banner of the warrior prophet. Even the miraculous image which, according to tradition, Christ himself had conveyed, of his own features, to the King Abgarus, failed to preserve the city of Edessa, that enshrined it, from the irresistible force of Mussulman zeal. The tradition is this. The king of Edessa applied to Jesus for the cure of some disorder, and offered him the protection of his city against the machinations of the Jews. Our Lord, in return for so great faith, sent the royal petitioner his own likeness, which he caused to be miraculously impressed on a linen cloth, that was long preserved in the East. There is extant a fragment of a Greek prayer referring to this portrait, from which we may learn what kind of adoration was paid to such representations. "How can we with mortal eyes contemplate this image,

* Gibbon, Ch. XLIX.

whose celestial splendor the host of heaven presumes not to behold? He who dwells in heaven condescends this day to visit us by his venerable image. He who is seated on the cherubim visits us this day by a picture which the Father has delineated with his immaculate hand, which he has formed in an ineffable manner, and which we sanctify by adoring it with fear and love."

The rebuke of the infidel, although it awakened uneasiness in the minds of some, and confirmed the aversion of the few who still remained uncontaminated in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, did not reclaim the priests who were mainly interested in upholding this idolatry. Yet, before the prevailing use had received the sanction of an ecclesiastical council, a vigorous effort was made to purify the Church of this abomination. The effort was made by the temporal power, and came from the bosom of the Eastern Church; and the resistance to it came from the Roman priesthood, from the bishops and the monks, of whom the latter especially instigated many of the laity among the Greeks themselves to rebel against an edict which threw contempt on the cherished objects of their devotion.

When Leo III., who rose from the rank of a peasant to the throne of the Cæsars, and who in his youth, among the mountains of Isauria, had imbibed from the Jews and Mohammedans an invincible repugnance to the use of images, — when this prince assumed the purple, he proscribed the pictures of Christ and the Virgin, and purged the churches of Constantinople and the neighboring provinces of their idolatry. His son Constantine, following in the same path, convoked a council of more than three hundred bishops, in which it was unanimously decreed that all visible representations of Christ, except in the Eucharist, were blasphemous or heretical, that image-worship was a corruption of Christianity and a renewal of Paganism, and that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or erased. The edicts of these emperors provoked a formidable opposition, and occasioned frequent tumults among the lower classes, especially the women, whose superstition was shocked by what seemed to them the impiety of the iconoclasts. A ladder was raised against the portal of the palace, on the top of which some workmen were

employed in demolishing an image of Christ which surmounted the vestibule. Women seized the foot of the ladder, and shook it until the servants of the Emperor were precipitated on the pavement, and lost their lives in the fall. The murderers were put to death, but received the honors of martyrdom, which the vengeance of their party rather than their own sanctity secured to them.

The prosecution of this reform on the part of the Isaurian emperors stirred up a rebellion in the West, and finally detached the provinces of Italy from their dominion. Thus a mighty empire was shivered in pieces by a question of theology. And what is of greater importance in this connection, the disobedience to imperial authority and the obstinate idolatry of the Western Church were largely instrumental in establishing the temporal power of the Popes. On the corruption of the ancient worship was based the huge might of the Roman See.

We have referred to the history of image-worship in order to show how essential and organic an element of Romanism is its superstition; not an accident, but a principle; not a transient guise, but a vital organ of that Church. It modifies the very word of God in their acceptance. In the Douay Bible a note is appended to the second commandment, which impairs its significance, and in the manual of religious instruction used at Rome, called "Christian Doctrine," the commandment is altogether omitted, and the last commandment split in two to make out the ten. Let it not be supposed, that, because the idolatrous character of the Roman Church is not so glaring here with us as one whose acquaintance with Romanism had been drawn from books or reports might expect to find it, it is therefore extinct, and must be ranked with those enormities of former ages which the progress of reform has swept from the world never to return again. The ancient superstitions and the old idolatries of the Roman Church still exist in all their deformity wherever that Church possesses undivided sway and can exercise its functions without the restraint of hostile sects and without the qualifying influence of Protestant ideas and a Protestant atmosphere, which here and in Ireland and in Germany keep it in check. The traveller in the Roman States at the present

day finds the rites of religion and the forms of worship the same that they were before the Reformation. He will find the same genuflexions, the same images, the same relics. He will see, as Luther saw, pilgrims laboriously climbing on their knees the steps of the Santa Scala, and abundant kissing of wood and stone, and indulgences advertised at the corner of the streets. In the daily paper published at Rome, he may read among other items such announcements as this: "In the church of St. Marks, at twenty-one o'clock * this day, will be exhibited the wonderful relic of the most precious blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ." In one church he is offered the gratification of beholding the stone on which the angel stood when he announced to Mary the birth of Christ; in another, a piece of that on which Jesus sat when he pardoned the sins of the woman taken in adultery. If his piety craves a more remote antiquity, on the payment of a shilling he can see "the stone where the Lord wrote the Law given to Moses on Sinai," and some of the manna with which the Hebrews were fed in the wilderness. Now he is invited to adore the toe of the Magdalene, and now the swathing-clothes of the infant Jesus, or the Virgin's linen (*camisia*), or, it may be, some animal secretion of the sainted dead, for which it is presumed that the reverence of the devotee will overcome his disgust.

If his visit to the holy city chance to fall between the Nativity and Epiphany, he may see paraded in a chapel of the church of Ara Coeli a *wooden doll representing the holy infant arrayed in costly garments, (how unlike those which the wife of Joseph could bestow on her first-born!) sparkling with emeralds and sapphires and diamonds; of which the foolishness is related by the credulous, and to which multitudes of worshippers flock, and bow and cross themselves with the usual demonstrations of Romanist devotion. If this is not idolatry, then the word is an empty sound. It is argued by defenders of Romanism, that the worship is not paid to the image itself, but to the person or idea which the image is designed to represent. Does any one suppose

* The twenty-four hours of the day are counted continuously in Italy, instead of being divided into two periods of twelve hours.

that the idols of Paganism had any other significance than this? Does any one imagine that the statue of Jupiter by Phidias, and that of Venus by Praxiteles, were worshipped as divinities by the Greeks? No statue was ever worshipped by Greek or Roman as Africans worship their Fetich, that is, as very God. The Council of Trent decrees that "the images of the Virgin Mother of God and of the saints are to be retained in the temples, and due honor and veneration given to them; not because it may be thought that any virtue or divinity exists in them, or because faith is to be placed in images, as was formerly done by the Gentiles, who placed their hope in idols; but because the honor paid to them is referred to the prototype which they represent, so that through the images which we kiss, and before whom we uncover our heads and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ and venerate the saints." The decree is all that concerns us. The explanation is superfluous, if supposed to be addressed to any above the capacity of Bushmen. With still broader simplicity, in the "Manual of Christian Doctrine" used to instruct the Roman youth, the Master declares that "the images of Our Lord, of Our Lady, and the saints, are not held by us as gods, and cannot (therefore) be called idols, as were those of the Gentiles, but are held as images which bring to our recollection the Lord, Our Lady, and the saints. And the honor we pay to them, we do it not because they are figures of paper or metal, or are well colored or well formed, but because they represent the Lord, Our Lady, etc. We ask not any thing of them, but before them we pray to those whom they represent." Now observe, this is precisely the answer made by the Pagans when charged with idolatry by the old Christian apologists. Athenagoras, a Christian writer of the third century, referring to heathen adoration, says: "I know that they [that is, the heathen] will readily allow that their images are but earth, wood, and stone, curiously wrought, but they will have them to be *representatives* of the gods, and thence argue that all reverence paid to them, all supplication offered before them, is ultimately referred to the gods represented, and that there is no other way by which we can approach the divine natures, forasmuch as the real sight of the gods is terrible and not to be borne."

"And to confirm this," he continues, "we are told of miracles wrought by these images." Here we have a significant hint as to the origin of the miracles ascribed to the images of saints by the Christian Church. In the manual referred to, the Disciple asks: "If the relics and images do not feel, how then do they perform so many miracles to those who commend themselves to them?" The Master replies: "God performs all miracles, but he often performs them through the intercession of the saints, and upon those who before the relics and images invoke the saints. And at times he makes use of the relics and of the images as the instruments of such miracles, to show us that devotion to the saints and to their relics and images is pleasing to him."

Such is the worship of the Roman Church at this day, wherever it has full scope and undivided sway, and is not hindered in its manifestations by opposing sects. Where this is the case, it is essentially Antichristian, it contradicts with the grossest and most palpable discrepancies the mind and the teachings of Jesus. Instead of worshipping God and him only, as Jesus taught, in spirit and in truth, independent of place, time, and thing, it dwells in what is outward and secondary, it cleaves to images and forms and implements and material objects, it turns from the One Supreme and spends its devoutness on inferior sanctities. We recall with vivid recollection our own impressions of disgust and aversion while witnessing the ceremonial of the Roman Church under auspices the most favorable, one might suppose, to its best effect, enhanced with all that religion has borrowed from wealth and power and art in the ancient capital of the Roman faith. It was in the church of St. Peter's, that "vast and wondrous dome," "to which the Ephesians' marvel was a cell"; "the most magnificent structure," says Gibbon, "ever devoted to the service of religion." It was the anniversary of the Nativity, an occasion which appeals to the sympathies of universal Christendom, and which should have suggested a simple and appropriate service in the spirit of Christ. We saw the monarch-priest, who claims to be the successor of Peter and the vicar of Christ, enter that temple, habited in gorgeous robes and borne on priestly shoulders along the vast nave, blessing with uplifted finger the multitudes

who had come to gaze on their spiritual father. The kneeling soldiery swept the pavement with their plumes, the dome resounded with the clank of their arms as he passed, all heads bowed low to receive the proffered blessing, and we thought what a scope for the Apostolic office was here! what an audience, what an occasion for a living word of exhortation, which should carry imperishable lessons to believing hearts! what a privilege to address such an audience, what a privilege to listen to such a speaker! But instead of this, what followed? Instead of the living word, and the needed exhortation, and the spiritual food which the heart craved, instead of prayer or discourse, the old mummary, robing and unrobing, and pacing back and forth, and fingering and courtesying, and lifting up the wafer which they call God. And the Protestant spectator who had not so learned Christ asked himself, Is this a religious service or a royal pageant? Is it a Christian church or a heathen temple?

We said, the traveller in Italy at the present day will witness the same superstitions which were witnessed there in the old centuries before the Reformation. We should go further, and say, he will witness the same that prevailed before the Christian era. It is a fact well known to the antiquary, and one that can be abundantly verified by citations from ancient authors, that the greater part of the Christian Roman ceremonies and superstitions are identical with the heathen Roman. The processions with lighted candles, the shorn heads, the celibate priesthood, the shrine by the way-side, the votive wreaths, the little wax figures or other donatives and memorials hung round the images of saints, the mendicant friars with their satchel slung across their shoulders,—all these and many others are older than the Christian name; they are customs of ancient Pagan Rome, perpetuated or revived. In many cases, the Christian temples are identical with the heathen. No harm in that, but the very statues now sacred to Christian devotion are statues used in the heathen worship. One is struck with the similarity between the ancient and the Christian name. The temple of the Bona Dea becomes the church of the Madonna, the Pantheon once dedicated to all the gods, is now consecrated to all the martyrs, Soracte is changed to St. Oreste, Apollo to

Apollinaris, Mars to Martina. It is true, as Cardinal Wiseman* triumphantly claims, that the *characters* to which the Christian worship is directed are very different from those of the ancient faith. The Christ is a glorious substitute for thundering Jove, the spotless Virgin for the wanton Venus, Stephen the protomartyr for the god of war. And figures with clasped hands and upturned faces, praying for their enemies in the agonies of death, have nobly replaced the haughty *Numina* of Pagan Rome. But we question if the sameness of the worship has in all cases been sufficiently compensated by the change in the object. Often it is only some doubtful Christian demigod by whom the heathen demigod has been supplanted, and the superstition which attached to the former name still clings to the ancient shrine, in spite of its new denomination. A remarkable instance of this is mentioned by Middleton in his celebrated "Letter from Rome." Near the foot of the Palatine Hill, on the very spot where Romulus, the founder of Rome, was said to have been nursed by a she-wolf, there stands, says he, "a little round temple, dedicated to him in the early times of the republic, and afterward converted into a Christian church." Romulus, on account of his reputed miraculous preservation in infancy, was supposed when he became a god to be peculiarly propitious to infants. Mothers and nurses were accustomed to bring their sickly infants to his temple to receive his blessing and be healed. "Now," says Middleton, "when this temple was converted to a church, lest any piece of superstition should be lost, or the people think themselves sufferers by the change, care was taken to find out in the place of the heathen god a Christian saint who had also been exposed in his infancy, like Romulus, and might therefore be presumed to be as fond of children as their old deity; and thus the worship paid to Romulus being now transferred to *Theodorus*, the old superstition still subsists, and the custom of presenting children at this shrine continues to this day, of which I myself have been a witness, having seen, as oft as I looked into this church, ten or a dozen women, each with a child in her lap, sitting with silent reverence before the altar of the

* Reply to Mr. Poynder.

saint, in expectation of his miraculous influence on the health of the infant."

If, in characterizing the customs of this Church, it be thought unfair to draw our examples from a foreign and distant land, and to argue from Romanism in Italy to Romanism in America, — if this plea be disallowed, we are ready to waive the inference drawn from scenes so remote, and to bring the inquiry home to practices which lie within the range of our own observation. Let the test of primitive and Apostolic Christianity be applied to the worship of the Roman Church, as practised in our own borders.

We suppose every reader of the New Testament can form some judgment of the rites and worship of the early Church. From the language of Jesus, where he touches this subject, from the spirit and bent of his doctrine, from the slight indications we find in the Acts of the Apostles respecting the Christian assemblies and the ecclesiastical observances of their time, we may gather so much at least as to judge with tolerable certainty what the primitive worship did *not* contain, if we cannot be sure, in every particular, of its positive aspect. For our own part, we believe that a correct idea may be formed of the general order of proceeding in the meetings of the first Christians, although we cannot, with the learned Mosheim,* find the programme of their service in the forty-second verse of the second chapter of the Acts.

Besides the notices furnished by the New Testament, we have the testimony of an intelligent Pagan, which goes to confirm them. Pliny, writing to the Emperor Trajan, in the second century, describes the worship of the Christians in Bithynia as consisting of two parts. They came together, he says, on a stated day, before sunrise, and joined in hymns (or prayers) to Christ, and bound themselves by oath to commit no crime, and to betray no trust. (This, we conjecture, may be interpreted as referring to the practice of reading the commandments.) Then they adjourned, and afterward met again to partake of a harmless repast. Here we suppose the reference is to the ancient love-feasts, and to the Lord's Supper, which was celebrated weekly in connection with them.

* Mosheim, Comm., Cent. I. Sect. 37.

Now let any one, who has formed to himself from these materials a conception of the primitive worship of the Christian Church, collate his idea with the worship of the Church of Rome, as practised, not in that city nor in any foreign land, but here on our own soil. He will find, we think, a discrepancy so monstrous as to make the Romanist worship seem Antichristian, if the primitive customs are any criterion or standard of Christian truth. In the ritual of the Mass, he will find a service in which no sign of primitive Christianity and Gospel truth can be traced, a service whose character cannot be explained on any other supposition than that of a Pagan original. It is impossible for us to bring together the two ideas of the Romish Mass and an Apostle or primitive disciple of Christ as the officiating priest. We have tried to imagine St. Peter conducting the service in the church which bears his name. We figure to ourselves his perplexity amid objects and uses so foreign from his associations with Christ, his inability to distinguish the *thurible* from the *pyx*, or the *alba* from the *stole*.

All the most prominent and characteristic features of the Roman ceremonial are of Pagan origin. Enter one of their churches here or elsewhere, observe the rites and functions there exhibited, attend the high Mass, or the low Mass, and what do you witness? You witness the repetition of the same Pagan rites which were practised in Rome before the coming of Christ.

The first thing which arrests your attention, when you cross the threshold, is a basin of holy water near the door, in which they who enter dip their fingers, or from which they are sprinkled by a priest. Here, at the very threshold, we come into contact with heathenism. This holy water, which is said by the Church "to give strength against temptation, to heal infirmities of body and mind, to expel bad thoughts, to banish contagion, and to scare the Devil,"—whence is it? Can we believe it to be a Christian ordinance? Do we find any mention of it in the Gospel? any vestige of it in the early Church? So far from this, Justin Martyr, in the second century, referring to its use by the heathen, says it was devised by devils in imitation of baptism, for they too would have their purifications by water. We shall search in vain for any trace of it in early Christendom, but we shall

find allusions to it in the heathen classics, and proofs of its use by the heathen precisely in the same way in which it is used by the Romanist now. A vessel containing it stood at the entrance of their temples, from which the worshipper sprinkled himself before he proceeded in his service. Indeed, the Pagan origin of this custom is so notorious, that we doubt if any competent critic, though a Romanist, would venture to deny it. Virgil in the Sixth Book of the *Æneid*, in describing a funeral ceremony, says that the priest, or he who officiated as such, went round the company three times and sprinkled them with holy water.* A Jesuit commentator remarks on this passage, "Hence was derived the custom of the Holy Church, to provide holy water at the entrance of their churches."

The next thing that attracts our notice will be the fumes of the burning incense, which fill the house. Here, again, a well-known Pagan custom, of which the curling vapor, if you are versed in the Latin classics, may suggest some apposite passage of Virgil or Ovid, or which, if you remember your Bible, may possibly remind you how old Jeremiah denounced the vengeance of God against the people of Judah in the land of Egypt, for burning incense to the Queen of Heaven; — "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: Ye and your wives have both spoken with your mouths, and fulfilled with your hand, saying, We will surely perform our vows that we have vowed, to burn incense to the Queen of Heaven. Therefore hear ye the word of the Lord, all Judah that dwell in the land of Egypt, Behold, I will watch over them for evil, and not for good."

Strange that so much time should be required to eradicate an error in religion! Strange how a form of superstition once expelled will return again to haunt the Church, and corrupt the ministrations of the sanctuary. Burning incense to the "Queen of Heaven" is as common now as it was in the days of Jeremiah. For the "Queen of Heaven," as all know, is one of the stated and most frequent appellations of the Mother of Jesus. Few things in the history of religion are more curious,

* "Ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
Spargens rose levi." *Æneid*, VI. 229, 230.

and nothing more sad, than the change which took place in the Christian polity in relation to all these matters within two or three centuries after Christianity became the state-religion. In the time of Diocletian, a Christian could save his life, and escape the most exquisite tortures that the wit of man can devise, by throwing a few grains of frankincense into a censer. But thousands refused to purchase salvation at that price. In the time of Theodosius, one of the earliest of the Christian Emperors, so repugnant still was the practice to the Christian mind, that the very places where it was known to have been exercised were condemned as unholy. In a space more brief than that which Christianity required to achieve this victory, the use of the censer was as common in the Christian temples as it had been in the Pagan.

Now it may seem a very harmless thing, and not worth quarrelling about, to burn a little gum and to raise a little smoke in a church. And so it would be if one did not know or never stopped to consider the real purport of the act. But when we reflect seriously upon it, and ask ourselves what it really means, we shall find it to be not only foolish, but shocking and intolerable. The Romanist may plead, that in the Hebrew polity there was an altar of incense. To be sure there was; but so there were many other objectionable things in the Hebrew worship, which the Hebrew prophets revolted at and thundered against out of their purer theology three thousand years ago. Isaiah makes Jehovah say, "He that burneth incense is as if he blessed an idol." And the king of Israel says, "Let my *prayer* be set forth before thee as incense, and the *lifting up of my hands* as the evening sacrifice."

We shall not pursue the parallel between the Pagan-Roman, and the Christian-Roman worship, through all the particulars in which the resemblance may be traced. We will only say, in general, that such is the similarity between them, with almost the single exception of the use of the cross, that, if an old Roman or Greek could return to the earth, he would find himself almost as much at home in a Roman-Christian church, as if it were one of his own temples preserved to this day. He would see in the new temple what he saw in the old. In the old temple, as in the new, instead of the animal sacrifice, a

round wafer was sometimes offered as a satisfaction for sin. In the old temple, as in the new, the priest began his sacrifice by robing himself with a white vestment, bearing the same form and having the same name with that which clothes his Christian successor. At his side stood a boy also habited in white, who waited upon him with the sacred utensils. Over his breast he wore a pectoral. His head was shorn. Like his successor, he made several inclinations of the head toward the altar, which was covered then as now with lighted tapers. His assistants burnt incense, and sprinkled holy water. When the sacrifice was done, the image of the deity was restored to its receptacle, and the people were dismissed with the words still used for that purpose, "*Missa est.*" We have here the original of the Mass,* as it is practised, with little variation, at the present day. It betrays at a glance its Pagan origin. There is nothing in the New Testament, nothing in the known habits of the first Christians, that even foreshadows it.

And as the worship, so many other things appertaining to this Church, were imported into it from Pagan Rome, — its ecclesiastical orders, its supreme pontiff and sacred college, its monks and friars, its penances and fasts, and pilgrimages and flagellations, its celibacy and processions, some of its doctrine, its purgatory and masses for the dead. Indeed a Catholic writer quoted by Middleton "acknowledges this conformity between the Pagan and Popish rites, and defends the admission of the ceremonies of Heathenism into the service of the Church by the authority of the wisest Popes, who found it necessary, he says, 'in the conversion of the Gentiles, to dissemble and wink at many things, and yield to the times; and not to use force against customs which the people were so obstinately fond of, nor to think of extirpating at once every thing that seemed profane, but to supersede in some measure the obligations of the sacred laws till these converts, convinced by degrees, and informed of the whole truth by the Holy Spirit, should submit in earnest to the yoke of Christ.'"

Here we have from a Romanist a frank confession of that compromise between the Christianity of the Middle

* Rome Paienne.

Ages and Paganism, which the constitution, the ritual, and the whole arrangement of the Roman Church so clearly betray,—a compromise which, in the matter of theology, is not confined to the Roman Church, but includes the greater part of Christendom without, as well as Christendom within, that domain,—a compromise which began with the modification of the Christian *doctrine* in the fourth century, and culminated with the institution of idolatry by ecclesiastical authority in the eighth and ninth centuries.

These two powers, Rome and Christianity, in the early ages of the Church stood opposed to each other, like two combatants engaged in a desperate struggle for life or death. The elder and seemingly more powerful was richly clad, and furnished with ample and splendid equipments, and had moreover the important advantage of prior possession and hereditary right to the soil. The other and younger was poor and naked, an alien and intruder. It seemed an unequal combat, like that between David and Goliath, and all who beheld it predicted a speedy and easy triumph to the giant champion who stood so broad and strong, and cursed the stripling by his gods, and devoted him to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field. But the younger, fighting in the name of the Lord of hosts, with the lithe and flexile vigor of youth, at length prevails; he fells his mighty antagonist to the ground, and the victory seems complete. But just as he is planting his foot on the neck of the uncircumcised, his eye is caught by the costly attire and shining garniture of his adversary, and he thinks within himself how well these robes and jewels would become his own person, and what accession of dignity and increase of influence among the nations he might secure to himself by means of them. And so he strips his prostrate foe and exults in his glittering spoils. But with the habiliments and manners of the Gentile, there comes over him the spirit of the Gentile; and he compromises, and dallies with uses which were once an abomination to him, and goes gadding after strange altars, until it becomes doubtful, after all, which party has really conquered in this warfare. If the Christian name was triumphant, the Pagan spirit prevailed.

Standing in the Flavian Amphitheatre, the chief arena

of this contest, where Christians were thrown to the lions whenever the Roman populace wanted a holiday, we thought, what a triumph of the Gospel! when we saw planted in the midst of that vast circus the symbol-cross which once would have been regarded as an offence, if seen within the walls of the city. But when we drew near and read the inscription, "All who kiss this holy cross shall receive two hundred days of indulgence,"* and when, lingering near, we saw numbers of all classes press their forehead and their lips to the senseless wood for the sake of the promised grace, it seemed to us that the ground was Pagan still, and that Christianity was crucified afresh in this unchristian superstition.

There is one point connected with this subject, which involves a matter of doctrine as well as of worship, and is equally important in both aspects. We refer to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the consequent adoration of the Host or consecrated wafer; which together constitute, as is well known, a distinguishing, and indeed the most distinguishing, feature of this Church. The Roman-Church-doctrine of Transubstantiation, as finally established, for it was not perfected until the twelfth, or perhaps not before the thirteenth century, (in the Lateran Council, 1215,) is this: that the morsel of flour and water, which is used in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, after the words of consecration uttered over it by the priest, is changed into Jesus Christ, that is, according to the Trinitarian doctrine of that Church, into God. This is no misrepresentation or exaggeration of this tenet. The Council of Trent† expressly declares, that "after the words of consecration of the bread and wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and man, is truly, really, and substantially contained under the form of those sensible objects." And in the Roman missal the functionary whose office is to convey the sacrament to the communicants is called the bearer of God, *Bajulus Dei*.

We are not aware that this doctrine is softened or modified to suit the apprehension or to spare the feelings of Romanists on this side the water. As far as we know,

* "Baciando la santa croce si acquistano ducenti giorni d'indulgenza."

† Sess. XIII. cap. 1.

it has the same face here that it has in countries where that Church is supreme. The "Ursuline Manual," a book extensively circulated in this country, among the directions given for the worthy celebration of the Eucharist, advises the worshipper, after the consecration of the elements, "Now that your Saviour himself is present on the altar, profit by so favorable opportunity for exposing all your wants and miseries to him." And the prayer which follows, supposed to be addressed to the wafer, says, "O adorable Jesus! the happy moment is fast approaching when that sacred body which was immolated on the cross will abide in my heart. My God, is it possible that thou whom the heavens cannot contain wilt confine thy greatness within the narrow limits of my heart?" The Litany of the Sacrament contains such expressions as this, "Wheat of the Elect," "Supersubstantial Bread, have mercy upon us!"

It is unnecessary to dwell upon this doctrine in the way of refutation or in the way of criticism. Its statement, perhaps, is its best refutation. An able writer on this subject, the late Dr. Elliott of Cincinnati, after quoting that passage from Isaiah, which exposes the folly of idol-worship, by describing the manufacture of the idol, — "He heweth him cedars, he burneth part thereof in the fire, with part thereof he roasteth flesh, and is satisfied, and the residue thereof he maketh a god; he falleth down unto it and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it and saith, Deliver me, for thou art my God," — after quoting this passage at length, he presents the following parallel: "The farmer sows wheat, it grows, it ripens, is reaped and prepared for the mill, where it is ground and sifted with a sieve. With a part thereof the fowls and the cattle are fed; and another part is taken and baked in the oven, and yet it is no god; it is brought forward and laid on the altar, and yet it is no god; the priest handles it and crosses it, and yet it is no god; he pronounces over it a few words, when instantly it is the Supreme Jehovah, and he falls down before it and prays to it, saying, Thou art my God."

But does not Jesus expressly say of the bread of the Eucharist, "This is my body"? Among the thousand satisfactory answers which might be made to this argument, and to this interpretation of the words of Jesus,

let one suffice. When Jesus said this, he was speaking of the bread immediately before him. Grant that the words are applicable to the bread of the Eucharist in all time, yet the object to which they immediately related was the bread which he then handled. Now, as the body of Jesus was present all the while these words were said, in its original form, and remained unaltered during the whole of that transaction, it is self-evident that, so far as the bread then given was concerned, the words were used figuratively. And if figuratively in relation to the bread of the original Lord's Supper, why not figuratively in relation to the bread of every subsequent celebration of that rite? But we will not insult the understanding of our readers with further argument on this matter.

We have charged the Church of Rome with idolatry. We are willing to rest the charge on this single feature of its doctrine and worship. We will waive the idolatrous character of any other rite or observance proper to that Church, and pin the accusation to this one practice, to this one doctrine. We say the Church of Rome worships a morsel of bread as the Supreme God; not as the *representative* of the Supreme God, — that were comparatively a venial superstition, — that would be erring only as the Greeks and Romans erred in their worship. Not as the representative, but as the present God, do they worship that creature. And we say that this is not only idolatry, but idolatry of so rank a type, that all those practices of the ancient religions which we usually stigmatize by that term look innocent and rational beside it. It is not so much idolatry as it is Fetichism. Even the Fetich-worshipper would revolt at the thought of treating the thing which he has consecrated and made a god, as the Christian treats his. A Pagan,* discoursing of the nature of the gods, rejects as an inconceivable absurdity this Christian superstition. "Although," says he, "we call the fruits of the earth *Ceres*, and wine *Liber*, in compliance with the customary mode of speech, yet do you think that any one was ever so mad as to believe that what he eats is God?" And said the Mohammedan philosopher, Averroes: "Since the Christians adore what

* Cicero de Natura Deorum, III. 16.

they eat, it is better for us to be of the religion of the philosophers."

While thus passing judgment on the errors and vices of the Roman Church, we are by no means blind to the faults and short-comings of Protestant sects. We do not claim for our own connection an unexceptionable practice or a perfect doctrine. Our consciences must be hopelessly insensible, if we can feel that we have all that we need and do all that we ought, and have nothing and do nothing amiss. Still, with all our short-comings and oversteppings, which the Lord enable us to know and dispose us to mend, we may fairly rejoice, and are guilty of no pharisaic exultation, when we thank God that our lot has been cast in a Protestant land. There is no one circumstance in our condition which demands, we think, a livelier gratitude. We may all adopt the noble language of Milton, the mightiest champion, after Luther, of Protestant principles: "When I recall to mind at last, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge, overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the Church, how the bright and blissful Reformation by Divine power strook through the black and settled night of ignorance and Antichristian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears, and the sweet odor of the returning Gospel imbathe his soul with the fragrancy of heaven."

Our debt to Protestant Christianity embraces all those privileges which distinguish us as a nation, and above all, that civil liberty of which we are so boastful and so careless. It was Luther who laid the corner-stone of the mighty fabric of these United States. Without the Protestant Reformation, the Constitution of these States would be as impossible, as the Christian Church would be without Christ, the corner-stone. Every conversion which takes place from the Protestant faith to that of Rome, is a blow aimed at that Constitution. Every Romanist franchise endangers it. Wherefore it becomes our policy as freemen, not less than our duty as believers, to arm ourselves with the pure Christianity of the Gospel against the inroads of that faith whose inevitable consequence is loss of civil as well as of spiritual liberty.

ART. V.—M. DE SAULCY'S DISCOVERIES IN SYRIA.*

SADDENED by the decease of his wife, and anxious to perfect the education of his son, Monsieur De Saulcy, a distinguished member of the French Institute and an intelligent Roman Catholic, determined to travel where there might be perils enough to occupy his mind, and acquisitions enough to repay his toil. The neighborhood of the Dead Sea seemed more than any other region to combine the hazard and the mystery: and, making up a party of inquiring Frenchmen, one of whom has just issued a work in the spirit of a Latin monk upon "the Holy Places" of Palestine, he left Paris in the autumn of 1850, determined to shun no labor, expense, hazard, or exposure, in procuring intelligence for his scientific brethren and the Occidental world.

He possessed evident advantages for the self-imposed task. An accomplished linguist, he could communicate with the Syrian in his own tongue, and read the Holy Record—the Syrian "Guide-Book"—in its original; an ardent student of Nature, every new flower and every strange insect engaged his attention; a true Frenchman, he could make the best of all the disagreeables in his way, could rise elastically from excessive fatigue, could face unterrified the howling blasts of Lebanon, could ford a swollen winter-torrent with a boy's joy, and could fast cheerfully like a sworn friar. His mind, too, notwithstanding the depression of bereavement, was all alive with hope: he kept in a constant glow of wonder, and gave himself up with a young man's enthusiasm to investigate every monument and record, every trivial incident, of his journey. We were slow to give him credit for an independent investigation of the Hebrew Scriptures: but on all questions of locality he appears to have studied them thoroughly, and to have done his best to harmonize their varying statements; though we cannot doubt that he went into the country predisposed to the singular conclusions which have given his name

* *Narrative of a Journey round the Dead Sea and in the Bible Lands, in 1850 and 1851.* By F. DE SAULCY, Member of the French Institute. Edited by COUNT EDWARD DE WARREN. London: Richard Bentley. 1853. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 568, 658.

some notoriety abroad, — predisposed by the Scriptures themselves, honestly, patiently, and eagerly studied in the original languages. If he was something of a coward,* seeing robbers in every hiding-place, shooting one poor bush-ranger because he did not answer a question which he might not have understood; if he lavished money like a prince, contracting a loan of solid silver even in the Eastern Desert; if, with two Arab tribes as his defenders, he suffered the same robber-settlement which Lieutenant Lynch kept in awe with a handful of Americans, to levy black mail upon him and insult him at pleasure, — we are to remember that all virtues are not comprised in the same character; and that his narrative might have been far less interesting, had his mind been less easily inflamed by sights and sounds so strange to civilized eyes and ears.

The impediments to Syrian sight-seeing the reading public understand pretty well. Journeying day after day through an actual desert, the traveller is obliged to depend upon his own resources, for drink sometimes, and for food generally: he is compelled to sleep, if sleep he can, in miserable mud-holes called “khans,” where he is not always protected from the rain, and is uniformly abandoned to the most insatiable vermin. He is obliged to push on through the protracted storms, because the bridgeless streams must be crossed before they have swollen any more. He must expect to feel threatenings of fever, sun-stroke, and other disorders incident to the sultry climate of the low plains, especially infesting the sunken crater of the Dead Sea, and provoked of course by anxiety, exhaustion, unsuitable food, vexatious delays, and numberless annoyances. With *our* superior facilities of travel, with our speed, comfort, economy, and certainty of locomotion, it may be hard to believe that an old country like Palestine should possess no wheel-carriage of any kind; no road that we should name such; no suitable refuge from the long winter-rains; no Chris-

* Vol. II. p. 239. At the tomb of St. James, on the hill-side facing Jerusalem, a single Arab, armed only with a knife *which he never drew*, frightened M. De Sauley and the Abbé Michon so that one of them presented his pistol, and both considered themselves remarkably preserved. The Arab's only demand was for a little money; and the idea of his extorting it from two resolute, armed Europeans is as good as that of the Irishman, who alone “surrounded seven men.” Probably the beggar was starving.

tian nourishment along a pilgrim-trodden road. But Turkish tyranny and Bedouin robbery have worked together for centuries to strip the "Land of Promise" of every thing but its hallowed memories and its countless ruins. And there is not a suffering, not a peril, encountered by M. De Saulcy's well-equipped and admirably ordered party, not a famine-stricken or storm-driven march, which the ordinary traveller must not expect, to endure as well as he can; but with results far less than those which animated our author in opening, as he thinks, a new chapter in the restoration of the buried past.

Others, we hope, will share the impatience which we felt, not to visit scenes so frequently described as to become a household word, and which more and more of our friends see every year, so much as to penetrate the treasure-house which, under the name of a "*Chargé d'une Mission Scientifique*," this French *savant* has laid open to the world.

M. De Saulcy and his five friends reached Beyroot, December 7, 1850, and, as he thought, hastened his journey to Jerusalem as much as possible, though it consumed more than twice the six days in which we made the same journey a month afterwards. Arriving there in season to witness the Christmas solemnities at Bethlehem, he does not linger to rehearse those monkish legends with which the streets of Jerusalem are filled, but hastens, compass in hand, into a "field white to the harvest," as he believes. His route to the Dead Sea was the usual one through the convent hospitality of Santa Saba. This romantic, castellated monastery crests a mountain named after the most influential hermit Syria has probably had, whose bones rest now in the midst of the inclosure which his followers still guard with their lives and have often hallowed with their blood. Friars of the Greek Catholic Church, they are bound by peculiar vows to admit no female, keep no servant, use no animal food, within their battlemented walls; and as the world with its cares and follies, amusements and ambitions, finds no entrance, all things being in common, and all under the control of the patriarch at Jerusalem, — as their look-out is over a scene of frightful desolation, especially along the barren gorge of the Kidron, over which their cells

hang on the mountain-side, — as they have but a very few books, and those in little use, in the upper room of the watch-tower, — as no person comes within sight of their forlorn retreat, save the dreaded Arab and an occasional pilgrim to the “Lakè of Lot,” — hardly the tenants of our state-prison know so melancholy a lot as has fallen upon these dried-up monastics. And, that the one worst ingredient may not be wanting, it is believed that this self-imposed doom is sometimes the penance of sin, and that actual criminals may be wearing out a weary existence in fasting, solitude, labor, and prayer. To repeat day after day the same unmusical chant in their stone chapel, to till a little garden within their ancient walls, to repair the mountain roads to and from the convent, and “entertain” an occasional traveller, seemed the whole occupation of their existence. Even the excitement of danger has deserted them since the Syrian invasion of Ibrahim Pacha; and though their hospitality is bestowed with the same jealous care as when murderous assaults were frequently made by the spiteful Arabs, and the visiter has to be reconnoitred a long time after he has made his appeal at the low iron postern, even this pulse of human feeling has ceased to beat along with that of religious zeal.

After enjoying the only comfortable night's rest to be found in the neighborhood of the Dead Sea, the party, under the protection of an Arab force, took a directly eastern course to the water's edge, then proceeded southerly for twenty days, examining thoroughly every thing in their way, then turned the lower extremity of the sea, and went northeasterly as far as Schihan (Shihon), embracing three quarters of the whole circumference of what they name the Asphaltic Lake.

The first point of interest is their careful examination of the ancient Masada, which Dr. Robinson* saw from a distance, but did not enter, and which De Saulcy did not recall at the time as the altar of self-sacrifice of nearly a thousand Jews, besieged by the Romans. His description is a specimen of the scientific manner in which he surveyed every object of interest. We abridge it of some superfluous words to bring it within our limits.

* Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, Vol. II. p. 240.

"The ascent is steep and the rocky fragments roll under our feet. After some minutes the path becomes more difficult, and goats alone might be content with it: it is one continual scaling-ladder, several hundred feet in perpendicular height. If you venture a glance to the left, a bottomless abyss threatens you with a kind of fatal fanaticism. At last we reach a platform rent by a chasm. The area soon becomes wider, and we find ourselves encircled by fragments of walls, and heaps of other ruins, unquestionable signs of ancient habitations. To our left, the crest of the precipice is protected by a wall heaped up without order, and this wall dips rapidly with the rock that bears it to the bottom of the chasm. There is no mistaking the locality; Josephus calls it Leuké. To our left begins *the snake*, the path we have just followed, leading down to the Dead Sea. Facing eastward, we have before us the perpendicular rock of Masada, two hundred feet in height, on the smoothly scarped side of which appear a few excavations resembling those of a necropolis. There could have been no access but by subterranean passages from the interior of the fortress. A ridge as narrow as the blade of a knife leads along the top of an artificial causeway of earth; this causeway, uniting Leuké to the side of the rock of Masada is all that remains of Silva's mound. The platform by which it was surmounted has crumbled down, by the action of time and the rains on the soft soil which formed the foundations. The stones have all rolled over into the precipices on either side, and there remains no passage but this dangerous ridge, which we must venture on like rope-dancers, without even the advantage of a balancing-pole. In a few seconds we have crossed the abyss, and are hanging to the side of the rock of Masada. Another desperate escalade, and we reach the remains of a flight of stairs fifty feet higher up on the side of the precipice, and on the ruins of a buttress built of fine freestone.

"At last we gain the summit; and the small remnant of a path inclosed between the precipice on one side and the ruins of a freestone wall on the other leads us to a well-preserved gate of beautiful workmanship, with an ogival arch. The invention of this form of arch is thus carried back to the epoch of Herod the Great, or, at the very latest, that of Titus and the destruction of Masada. Beyond this gate a level space appears before us, the platform of Masada. The crest we have attained is furnished with buildings resting against the surrounding wall. These are mostly square cells in tolerable preservation, with many small apertures like the holes in a pigeon-house. Within a hundred yards is a ruin resembling a church, with a circular apsis. The whole is of elaborately worked freestone; the supporting walls are covered with a very hard plaster inlaid with

mosaic-work of a novel description. Moving in a northerly direction we find a large, rectangular cistern, containing of course no water. Further on is a quadrangular inclosure, much more ancient than the other buildings. A wide, deep ditch, dividing it from the remainder of the platform, begins from the left flank of a square, ruined tower, which commands the entire ground. We ascend this tower, and obtain a full view of the oldest portion of the fortress, — marked in the direction from south to north by continuous lines and heaps of large black, irregular stones, the remains of buildings that have crumbled down where they were erected. I have no doubt that this inclosure constituted the original Masada, built by Jonathan. All the remainder was the work of Herod the Great. A circle of ruined walls entirely surrounds the crest of the platform, which contains no other structures beyond those we have mentioned ; — viz. towards the northern point, the palace and a cistern ; and towards the south, another cistern and a mass of ruins, belonging perhaps to a barrack. On the southern side of the rock are a well and a vault lined throughout with a hard, smooth cement. In this we easily recognize one of those subterranean magazines in which provisions could be preserved in Masada for centuries without spoiling. Two days actively employed would scarcely have acquainted us thoroughly with Masada." — Vol. I. pp. 226 – 233.

De Saulcy's view of the sea itself only confirms that of every trustworthy traveller. He was upon its borders at a very propitious period ; the air was less heated, the vapor less sulphureous, than in summer. Death did not reign so absolutely, though nothing of life could be found within the leaden waves. Insects were picked from under the beach stones, birds sometimes rested awhile upon the water, a few bushes thrive among the crevices of the rocks ; still, he describes in very sombre terms the composition of the molten mass.

"I scarcely believe the world produces any water more abominably offensive, though clear and limpid in appearance. At first it seems to have the taste of ordinary salt water ; but in less than a second it acts with such nauseous effect on the lips, the tongue, and the palate, that your stomach instantly rejects it with insufferable disgust. It seems to be a composition of salt, coloquintida, and oil ; but with this additional property of inflicting an acute sensation of burning. In vain you clear your mouth of this horrible liquid : it acts so violently on the mucous system that the taste remains for many minutes, causing at the same time a powerful contraction of the throat." — Vol. I. p. 249.

At the southwestern extremity of the "Asphaltic Lake" is what has always borne the name of "Djebel-Esdoum," the Mountain of Sodom, a compact mass of rock-salt, never rising above a hundred yards, of grayish color, in its upper layers tinged with green and red. Here Lieutenant Lynch saw a salt pillar, which he conjectured might memorialize Lot's wife, or some similar calamity. Our French traveller replies, that in the rainy season the American officer might have seen many more wives near this forlorn mourner; as the crumbling of the soil and the winter torrents create numerous pyramids and stalactites of salt. De Saulcy's conjecture as to the fate of this ancient lady is one of the most probable that has yet been made.

"Having loitered behind through fright or curiosity, she was most likely crushed by one of those descending fragments, detached by the volcanic heaving of the mountain; and when Lot turned round to look at the place where she had stopped, he saw nothing but the salt rock which covered her body." — Vol. I. p. 270.

In regard to his great claim of discovering Sodom, it is but just to hear what he has to offer in contradiction of the established opinion, though his twelve diffuse pages must be condensed within a reasonable compass.

"Josephus mentions that the lake extends as far as Zoara in Arabia, and that in its vicinity is the land of Sodom. We must thus conclude, since Zoar was at the southern extremity, Sodom was likewise there. All scholars agree in opinion, that Sodom was on the western shore of the lake. [?] Genesis expressly tells us that Lot 'departed from Sodom when the morning arose, and entered Zoar when the sun was risen'; then the distance from Sodom to Zoar could not exceed a league at the utmost. Any locality on the eastern shore is therefore excluded. Now, if on the very spot where Sodom ought to exist, we find a huge mountain of mineral salt, called Djebel-Esdoum, bearing on its northern declivities the extensive ruins of a town, — ruins among which you can distinguish many foundations of walls, — ruins which the inhabitants of the country are in the habit of calling Kharbet-Esdoum, Ruins of Sodom, and of applying to them the traditions concerning Sodom, — if, besides, within a mile and a half we fall in with other ruins called Zouera-et-Tahlah, Lower Zoar, — is it possible to question both these identities?"

After proceeding to show that neither Testament asserts the submerging of these towns under the sea, he offers confirmations of his opinion from Josephus, Strabo, Tacitus, and Masoudy, an Arabian writer; upon which he concludes, that we may now consider an important point as perfectly established, namely, that the towns of the Pentapolis were not submerged after their destruction by fire. They therefore could never have been built on the ground which has been hitherto supposed to have been suddenly inundated by the waves of the lake.

“The logical conclusion from what I have stated is this. As it is unquestionable, that, with the exception of Engedi, Masada, Thamara, and Zoar, there has not been since the catastrophe of the Pentapolis any town built on the western shores of the Dead Sea, it necessarily follows that we cannot help recognizing Sodom in the Kharbet-Esdoum of the Arabs, at the foot of the salt-mountain which Galen expressly names Sodoma.

“To contest this discovery, there is but one course, to deny the existence of these ruins, which my companion and myself have twice visited and examined with the greatest care.”—Vol. I. pp. 460 – 472.

Now, it is only fair to admit that this adventurous Frenchman has been rewarded by the discovery of an unknown mass of ruins, such as abound in Syria, the seat of some forgotten city, passed by unconsciously of other travellers, even the learned Dr. Robinson and the intrepid American explorers. But was this the principal city of the Pentapolis? Are there any sufficient evidences, further than the correspondence of name, that the head-quarters of ancient iniquity are at last ascertained?

When we first heard this report, we wished it might prove true. The palace of Tiglath-Pileser is brought to light, the long-lost Serapion is disinterred, temples of an unknown age are discovered on our own continent; is it not time, we thought, for God “to bring to light the hidden things of darkness”? Unhappily, there is only the similarity of Esdoum with Sodom, and that is offset entirely by contradictory probabilities. Engedi, to be sure, is sufficiently indicated by Ain-Jedy, Emmaus by Amwas, Bethlehem by Beit-Lahm, Beersheba by Beeret-Seba, Hermon by Haramon, Heshbon by Heshban, Hebron by

Hebrum, Siloam by Selwan, Kidron, Endor, and Nain by modern names precisely similar, — but in all these cases, other localities help to define their position; they stand at the right distance from undisputed points; their bearings by the compass, their relations to the neighborhood, are all as they should be.

Now the trouble is, we are greatly in the dark as to the surroundings of Sodom, and are likely to remain so. No human hand is able to remove the funereal pall which God has spread over the guilty cities of the plain; nor, for solemnity of impression, should we wish it ever removed. It would impair somewhat the awe with which one visits this blasted neighborhood, could he be permitted to turn over the marble cornices and brazen mouldings, and say, "These were Sodom."

As we read the narrative of this appalling judgment, it fell upon "the cities of the plain," upon neighboring towns situated in the fat and well-watered plain of the Jordan. The impression given by the narrative in Genesis, the most reliable guide, opposes M. De Saulcy's selection of a narrow strip of sea-shore, and compels us to look rather for some wide pasture-land, where the numerous cattle constituting the wealth of Lot could find the same abundant nourishment as in Egypt. (Gen. xiii. 10.) If we suppose the sea not to have been salt until some convulsion of nature, of which so many traces still remain, had spread the "slime-pits of Sid-dim" over the southern banks of the river, still, a ledge at the foot of high mountains could never have furnished room for thousands of cattle, besides the space required by a populous city. If, however, pressed by this difficulty, M. De Saulcy places the town nearer that ancient channel of the Jordan, discovered under the sea by the soundings of the American Expedition, he of course abandons his boasted discovery, and adopts the traditional, almost universal belief.

A second argument is based upon the position assigned in his own map to the sister city, Gomorrah, and another prominent town in the group, Zeboim. Gomorrah M. De Saulcy imagines he has found at some nameless and inconsiderable ruins a little south of Jericho, and near the northwestern corner of the sea. Its neighbor, Zeboim, he places where Zoar stands on Dr. Robinson's

chart, on the opposite side of the sea, and near its southern extremity, at the distance of several days' journey from Sodom. Zoar, again, M. De Saulcy is led by similarity of name to place just north of Sodom, at a spot named by the Arabs Zouera-et-Tahlah: to this he is guided by the similarity of name, though the fact of two places in Syria bearing the same ancient name, as is true of Cana, Emmaus, &c., shows how little reliance can be had on this alone. Admah, the fifth town of the Sodom cluster, he places west, a little north, the farther side of some high chalk-hills, not near enough, however, to either of the others to form part of their neighborhood. The moment these distances are noted upon M. De Saulcy's map, Gomorrah so far to the north, Sodom to the south, Zeboim to the east, and Admah to the west, that a week would be consumed in visiting them in succession, the impossibility of his hypothesis can hardly fail to be felt. The five towns of the Pentapolis, like the ten composing the Dekapolis, must have been in one neighborhood, on one side of the Jordan, bearing one relation to the Moab mountains, which cannot have changed, however the river may have altered its course. In every study of the New or Old Testament geography, towns that are familiarly classed together are found to be closely grouped, so as to be almost suburbs of one another: so was it with the border towns of the Lake of Galilee.

A third fact, decisive of the question as to the distance of these destroyed cities from one another, is, that their judgment came by one and the same local convulsion, rendered probable by the volcanic character of the soil and the sulphureous exhalations of the vicinity, and confirmed by Lieutenant Lynch's discovery, that one moiety of the sea was sunken by some such disturbance of nature a thousand feet below the other part. Here, on these buried banks of the Jordan, in the neighborhood of what De Saulcy is certain was Zeboim, and Robinson is equally certain was Zoar, on the eastern side of what was probably the re-issue of the river from a smaller lake than at present, uniform tradition has located "the five cities of the plain"; nor do we believe that future investigation will fix upon any more probable spot.

As to the discovery of Gomorrah at a point named by the natives Kharbet-Goumran, with nothing but its cor-

responence of title, and no trace of any corroborative evidence, M. De Saulcy declares (Vol. II. p. 66): "My own conviction, without the slightest hesitation, is, that these ruins, extending over a space of six thousand yards, are in reality the ruins of the Scripture Gomorrah. If this point be disputed, I beg my gainsayers to tell me what city, unless it be one contemporary with Gomorrah, can have existed on the shores of the Dead Sea at a more recent period, without its being possible to find the slightest notice of it either in the sacred or profane writings." But in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis the vicinity of Sodom to Gomorrah is shown by their both suffering spoliation at the same time, by the same hand; and in the nineteenth chapter, Abraham, witnessing the destruction of one city, sees the other perish at the same moment, according to M. De Saulcy at a distance of seventy miles, and by the same eruption or discharge!

Had not this highly intelligent French gentleman underrated the discoveries of our own countrymen, in a field where they have distinguished themselves by an energy and good sense, a perseverance and fortitude, suitably rewarded by remarkable success, his principal error would have been spared, nor would he have failed to see that the valley running south from the Dead Sea, where Lieutenant Lynch longed to pursue his examination, was the spot in which new and valuable intelligence was to be sought,—at any rate, was an unexplored territory, the possible path of the Jordan through which ought to have been scientifically determined long ago.

M. De Saulcy's studies around Jerusalem are interesting and valuable. He was neither disposed to reject all local legends, like Dr. Robinson, nor to rely upon them as requiring no corroboration, like most Roman Catholic travellers. In this spirit he has restored its old designation to the "Tomb of the Kings," the finest ancient sepulchre outside of the city, a sarcophagus-lid from which he has deposited in the Louvre as "the covering of David's tomb"; nor has he displaced any of the principal names belonging to the neighborhood, not even "Absalom's Pillar." He is quite positive regarding the remains of the original inclosure of the Temple.

"I was aware long since that there exists, in the interior of Jerusalem, a portion of the wall which the Jews have in all time

considered a fragment of the original building. On arriving in front of this venerable relic I was struck with admiration: up to a height of more than twelve yards from the ground, the original building has remained entire; regular courses of fine stones, perfectly squared, but with an even border, standing out as a kind of framework, inclosing the joints, rise over each other to within two or three yards of the top of the wall. A moment's examination is enough to ascertain without any doubt that the Jewish tradition is positively correct: a wall like this has never been constructed by Greeks or Romans; we have evidently a sample of original Hebraic architecture. The portion left to the Jews as a place of prayer-offering is nearly thirty yards." — Vol. II. p. 98.

All this is highly probable. It is the universal feeling at Jerusalem, that the lower part of the outer wall is composed of the identical stones laid by Solomon. Monks and Moslems, Franks and Arabs, pilgrims and consuls, unite in an opinion which two facts go a great way to establish. First, no party that have held Jerusalem since that capture by Titus which seems only to have destroyed the Temple buildings, have had any interest in removing these outworks, which served to minister in turn to Roman, Christian, and Mohammedan devotion. And, second, none but the Romans had energy enough to tear up such a massive substructure,—the Turks never putting themselves to any needless pains,—the Crusaders being too few to entertain any such conceptions of exhausting labor,—the Arabs holding the city too short a time to make much havoc. And to all these conquerors the guardian spirit of prayer appeared to hover over the consecrated mount, which the Saracen honors as the last resting-place of his Prophet's foot before he mounted to Paradise, and the Christian reveres as the future shrine of his noblest earthly offering to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

It is almost inexplicable that Dr. Robinson's most interesting investigation of "Siloa's brook, which flowed fast by the oracles of God," should have escaped our author's attention. He thinks it "a question which will ever remain without solution" as to the connection of the Well of Job and the Pool of Siloam with the Fountain of the Virgin and that of Gihon; he even regards as an idle tale the report of a noise of "subterraneous rushing

waters heard in the dead of night near the Damascus gate." Dr. Robinson deserves credit for nothing more than his prolonged and conclusive examination of this ancient aqueduct. He himself witnessed the sudden rush of the waters, which in the stillness of night might be perceptible to the watchful ear; he himself traced their course from the Fountain of the Virgin through the underground passage into the Pool of Siloam. He has left little doubt upon the fact of its irregular swelling and sinking being caused by the flood occasionally bursting in from the subterraneous cistern of the Temple. The Well of Job, the ancient Enzogel, seemed on the spot to communicate with the Pool, though no investigation has yet been made as to its supply. Kitto well remarks, that we learn to consider these waterworks as the least doubtful vestiges of antiquity in all Palestine.

The view of Jerusalem and its environs from the lovely Mount of Olives is thus happily given:—

"From the summit, the view is surpassingly fine. To the westward you behold Jerusalem, the scene of the most marvellous event that ever took place upon earth, and the range of hills extending beyond towards the sea; to the southward, the plain leading to Bethlehem; at your feet, the valley of Hinnom, the valley of the Kidron, and the valley of Jehoshaphat; to the northward, the ridges rising successively over each other, like the steps of a ladder, in the direction of Naplouse; and lastly, behind you, the desert of Judea, the valley of the Jordan, the Dead Sea, looking like an immense caldron full of molten lead; and still farther on, the dark, rigid outline of the mountains of Moab and Ammon. This is a spectacle one might gaze on for ever with the deepest emotion, and which cannot be left without regret, often turning back to enjoy the sensation it gives birth to as long as possible."

Our traveller bursts into raptures upon the Gerizim ruins, is perfectly sure of their antiquity, and cannot even yield to Dr. Robinson, that they might have been employed by the Romans as a fortress. Unfortunately, we see at Baalbec, that, where there was a fertile valley thronged with restless inhabitants, it required a military post to keep them in check, to maintain communication with other garrisons, and to form places of refuge for provincial officers in case of insurrection. The richest portion of Palestine, as these well-watered plains have

ever been, a population sufficient to require the supervision of a strong garrison must have tilled these fields, luxuriated in these groves, rejoiced in the murmur of these waters, and feasted upon this ever-verdant landscape.

His description of the ruins we give in as few words as possible; they have been very seldom visited:—

“Let us now examine the ruins upon the summit of Mount Gerizim. To the south of the large inclosure, and seventy-five yards towards the southeast angle, is a platform of rock facing the west, surrounded by foundations of walls by which it must have been inclosed. It is easy to discern that the original form of this rock was a polygon, with three long sides perpendicular to each other, each eleven yards long, to which were joined two smaller sides of six yards each. This platform is the Samaritan altar; here the victims were sacrificed, and their blood ran into the adjoining well. From this spot commence the ruins of a very considerable city. There is one singular structure built on the rock, one hundred and fifty yards in front of the platform of sacrifices, perhaps a chapel of Christian worship, its walls, four feet thick, forming a square of thirty-six feet on each side. The plan of the principal figure is a quadrilateral inclosure, having square projections at each angle, probably towers. All the principal walls are four feet thick. In the interior, resting upon the walls, are many chambers erected at different periods. In the centre of the inclosed platform stood an edifice, the inside of which was octagonal, and its entrance corresponded exactly with the principal gate of the inclosure. On the sides adjacent to the entrance were buildings resembling chapels, the doors of which opened into the interior. The guide called it the Keblah, the praying-place of the Samaritans.

“There is a second exterior inclosure, and between these inner and outer walls a Moslem cemetery; and to the north of this, a magnificent pool now dry, thirty-five yards long by more than eighteen wide. In its northern wall is a niche admirably carved, denoting superior skill in the art.”—Vol. II. pp. 364–370.

In the remainder of Syria, through which he took the usual route from Jerusalem to Tiberias, Safet, Damascus, and Baalbec, to Beyroot, this very independent exploration adds little to what we possessed before.

Kafr-Kenna, which lies directly upon the usual track from Nazareth to Tiberias, De Saulcy believes to be the Cana of the marriage miracle, in opposition to Dr.

Robinson, — in opposition to the hint given by the name of some ruins to the northwest, Kana-el-Jelil," — in opposition to a guide which he himself has been so eager to follow in other cases, and, as we have shown, not without reason. As the true site lies away from the customary travel, we fear it will be a hopeless task to prevent the substitution of a recent pretender, in place of the original owner of a tenderly hallowed name. But it is a pity that the fragments of waterpots seen at Kafr-Kenna by Clarke should have been replaced by a whole new one, and this again by two, which we are devoutly thankful the bad character of the people induced some American travellers to pass without the compliment of a visit.

His description of Tiberias is one of the best things in a sufficiently prosy narrative.

"We are outside the walls of Tabarieh. There is not a cloud in the sky, every corner of the ground is decked with a lovely garment of plants and flowers; everywhere on the waters that reflect the azure sky are thousands of fowl, flying, sporting, and diving. Before us lie the ruins of the Tiberias of Herod, levelled with the ground; over which the plough passes with each succeeding year, displacing the innumerable shafts of columns that still rise above the fields. In the far horizon lies the green valley of the Jordan; and on the opposite side of the lake are the rich and beautiful mountains of Haouran. In whatever direction you turn, you look on the soil marked by the footsteps of our Saviour and his disciples, and the waters upon which they sailed, all shining with the most translucent atmosphere. You may traverse the world without finding a panorama to compete with this." — Vol. II. p. 436.

Capernaum M. De Saulcy thinks that he found at the Ayn-el-Medaourah, or Round Fountain, directly on the border of the Galilee Lake, where Dr. Robinson satisfied himself no considerable place could have been, by that infallible test, the absence of ruins. There are also two other witnesses, which testify that the site of this eagerly sought city is not to be found in our time. First, that Capernaum was, as De Saulcy admits, on the direct easterly road from Nazareth to Tiberias; and not only is that well-known track destitute of suitable remains, of mounds of rubbish even, as well as more stately ruins, but every spot hitherto selected has

been considerably to the north of the customary road. And, second, the different points indicated by Eusebius and St. Jerome, as well as recent travellers, lie upon the low shore of the lake, and not upon the range of noble hills to the west, where we know the city "set upon a hill" must have been. It is possible, as in the case of Tyre and Jericho, that a second city may have inherited the name of the first, upon a changed position, and with less permanency and grandeur in its modernized buildings. And this would account for the confusion which is now irremediable. The more practised guides, accustomed to furnish the traveller every thing for which he asks, imagining they are doing a service by providing another altar for the offering of pious enthusiasm, will continue to find a local habitation for this wandering ghost of a town; but the natives know not the name, as we ascertained upon the spot; and the conclusion of Dr. Robinson is irresistible, that no one place can be found answering all the requisitions of the sacred history. A fountain, called Ain-el-Tin, is the least suspicious candidate, and there are certainly ruins of some important towns at this nameless and lovely point.

While we differ with M. De Saulcy in many of his views, we would not withhold the credit of having completed three months of exposure, fatigue, hardship, and peril, with no injury to himself or his party, with a thorough study of the botany and entomology of the land of promise, and with an untiring effort to increase our imperfect knowledge of Bible lands. If he has not brought to light much that is valuable, it is because it did not lie within his reach along the path which he chose. There are points, requiring further elucidation, which fell not within his enthusiastic grasp. Something might be discovered by extensive excavations in and around Damascus, among those vast mounds which denote buried remains of antiquity. The valley south of the Dead Sea might be explored by a suitable party, without any serious peril of life or health, and it would be some satisfaction to know even that nothing is to be known there of an outlet of the Jordan, and of ancient towns and temples. But the subterranean vaults beneath the Mosque of Omar will by and by be thrown open to

Christian curiosity, and may reveal to us some further memorials of Jewish greatness or sanctity. It was a significant type of the times, that, through the influence of his friend, the Consul at Jerusalem, our French *savant* was admitted in European dress within the sacred inclosure, termed by the Turkish worshippers "Harum." One step more, and, even should Palestine still groan beneath Moslem oppression, a firman and a government officer will usher European inquirers through these deserted crypts, and either shed a flood of light upon ancient story, or prove that, as far as the Jew is concerned, its record is sealed and laid away until the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.

F. W. H.

ART. VI. — PROFESSOR MAURICE AND HIS HERESY.*

THE exclusion of Mr. Maurice, the author of the books mentioned at the foot of this page, from his Professorship in King's College, London, for no other reason than that of maintaining what he believes to be important religious truth, will draw to his Essays and Letters an attention which they would not have gained by their intrinsic merits, as contributions to theology. The author is known as a prominent member of what is called the Tractarian party in the Church of England. The republication in this country of his works on "The Kingdom of Christ," "The Religions of the World," and "The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament," relieves us of what would otherwise be a difficult task, that of giving a distinct idea of his peculiar character as a thinker and writer. Those who are acquainted with the books above mentioned

* 1. *Theological Essays*. By F. D. MAURICE, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, and Professor of Divinity in King's College, London. Cambridge (Eng.). 1853.

2. *The Word Eternal and the Punishment of the Wicked: a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Jelf, Canon of Christ Church and Principal of King's College*. By F. D. MAURICE, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. From the Second London Edition. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1854.

know that he is capable of pouring forth from a rich and full mind a stream of thought on moral and religious subjects in elegant and often eloquent language. He has an imagination and a ready sympathy, which enable him, as in the work on the Prophets and Kings, to excite a fresh interest in states of society and habits of thought and action long past.

We regret to say, that in his *Theological Essays* he appears to less advantage than in his other works. He has not the philosophical or critical mind which fits him to write on theology, properly so called. Whoever shall consult these *Essays* with the purpose of obtaining exact knowledge, or clearer views of any of the difficult subjects discussed in them, will be sure to be disappointed. The author seems to look at all subjects, as from a great distance, as if he were above the necessity of coming into close contact with them. Hence his views are so obscure and vague, and his statements so general and indefinite, that we are often left in doubt what his opinions really are, or whether we agree with him or differ from him. His mere assumptions, as the bases of argument, are so frequent, his reasoning so loose and inconclusive, and his notions in regard to the interpretation of language so lax and arbitrary, that he seldom leads one to any conclusion on which he can rest with satisfaction. What shall we think of a writer, who undertakes to make it appear, by a show of argument, that the Athanasian Creed is not deficient in charity, and condemns no man for his religious opinions?

We by no means intend to say, however, that the *Essays* are worthless. They contain a current of fresh, and, as it were, extemporaneous thought, having a nearer or remoter relation to the subjects under consideration, which, coming from a very earnest and religious mind, possess a considerable degree of interest, though they seldom conduct us to any definite conclusion.

The *Essays*, as it appears, were originally sermons, which the author preached to his own congregation in the interval between Quinquagesima Sunday and Trinity Sunday. "I did not," he says, "allude to Unitarians while I was preaching. I have said scarcely any thing to them in writing, which I do not think just as applicable to the great body of my contemporaries, of all

classes and opinions." But a certain lady having in her will desired him to apply a small sum to purposes in which he knew she was interested, he understood her special meaning to be "that of laying him under obligation to write or procure to be written some book especially addressed to Unitarians."

Throwing his sermons, therefore, into the form of essays, and making some alterations and additions, he has published the present volume for the special benefit of Unitarians. Alas that in the discharge of his benevolent labor and sacred trust, designed to rescue others from heresy, he should himself have been dismissed as a heretic from his theological professorship by members of a Church which he loves with an almost blind attachment!

The work is evidently the production of a liberal mind and a kind heart. His sympathies are too wide and deep to exclude Unitarians from his respectful regards. Here we find no bigoted denunciation, no aristocratic contempt. If the author's statement of Unitarian views is not always accurate, it is never the result of wilful rversion.

The Essays are sixteen in number: — I. On Charity. II. On Sin. III. On the Evil Spirit. IV. On the Sense of Righteousness in Men, and their Discovery of a Redeemer. V. On the Son of God. VI. On the Incarnation. VII. On the Atonement. VIII. On the Resurrection of the Son of God from Death, the Grave, and Hell. IX. On Justification by Faith. X. On Regeneration. XI. On the Ascension of Christ. XII. On the Judgment Day. XIII. On Inspiration. XIV. On the Personality and Teaching of the Holy Spirit. XV. On the Unity of the Church. XVI. On the Trinity in Unity. And the Conclusion, On Eternal Life and Eternal Death.

The method pursued by Professor Maurice in the discussion of these important subjects is very different from that of most writers on Christian theology. He seldom refers to passages or texts of Scripture as direct proofs of a doctrine, and, in fact, makes little account of the common rules and principles of interpretation. Spiritual discernment is the great instrument on which he relies for ascertaining the meaning of the Scriptures. We must interpret them, he says, by the aid of the same Spirit

by which they were dictated. Now we have as high an opinion as Professor Maurice of the importance of the spiritual mind, or a mind under the inspiration of the Divine Spirit, for the attainment of religious truth. But it is impossible that the Divine Spirit should contradict the plainest laws of language, founded as they are in the common sense of mankind, or authorize us to maintain that to be the meaning of a writer, which, according to the laws of language, is not his meaning. The Divine Spirit, exciting or enlightening our reason, may teach us to pronounce the meaning of any writer to be erroneous; but it is a prostitution of reason to falsify the plain meaning of a writer, and substitute our ideas for his, in accommodation to what we may regard as the truth taught by the Spirit, or to the demands of science. It is painful to observe, that some of our scientific men have stooped to such a miserable practice for the purpose of reconciling the established conclusions of astronomy or geology with the conceptions of the ancient Jewish historians.

The principal test of truth, to which Professor Maurice seems to resort in the volume under consideration, is the adaptation of a doctrine to satisfy the wants of the human soul. His aim is to show that the doctrines of the Anglican Church, as he understands them, supply spiritual wants, for which the doctrines of other Christians, particularly the Unitarians, are not sufficient. There can be no doubt, that this consideration, applied with philosophic discrimination, candor, and comprehensiveness, with a mind capable of distinguishing the wants of human nature from the yearnings of men in a particular state of culture and religious opinion, and the essential principles of religion from opinions and forms accidentally associated with them, will lead to important results. But it is to be remembered, that religious persons, having already false or defective notions of God, or losing sight of some of the attributes which are essential to his character, frequently want what they ought not to have. The Israelites, in the time of Moses, thought their religious wants would be best supplied with a golden calf; and Aaron, if he had written on the subject, would probably have maintained that calf-worship was better suited to the wants of human nature than the higher religion of

Moses. The religion of Christ has been corrupted by the introduction of new objects of worship, the Mass, the Virgin Mary, saints, images, &c., and by numberless burdensome superstitions, through the desire of ministers of religion to accommodate it to the supposed wants of the human soul. We have thought that we have discerned recently, even in the Unitarian Church, some tendencies to a departure from the truth, as it is in Jesus, arising from a desire to make religion more interesting and effective, or to supply what are considered the wants of the human soul. It is not always kept in mind, that there are wants of the reason and the understanding, as well as of the spiritual nature, the conscience, and the affections; that a religion is wanted for the intelligent and the educated, as well as for the dull and the ignorant; that human nature demands a theology as well as a religion. As a theology which does not correspond to the deepest feelings of human beings cannot be a true theology, so a theology which cannot command the respect of the highest intellectual culture of the times cannot be a permanent theology.

In reference to this argument of adaptation, we think that any earnest religious man, whether Unitarian or Trinitarian, Calvinist or Arminian, Catholic or Protestant, having the ability of Professor Maurice, might make out as good a case in favor of the doctrines and forms of the religion in which he has been educated, and with which all his religious feelings have been associated from infancy, as our author has presented in favor of those which he holds. Undoubtedly the principles essential to piety are contained in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, as also in the Institutes of Calvin, or the Decrees of the Council of Trent. But Christ, as we think, has included the same essential principles in a much smaller number of articles, unencumbered with much that is destined to be burnt as hay, wood, and stubble.

But without any further general remarks, we will proceed to our main purpose, that of stating some of the views of Professor Maurice on a few of the various topics embraced in his Essays, making such comments on them as may occur to us.

Of the first two Essays, those on Charity and on Sin, we

have nothing to say except in commendation. His views of charity are discriminating and beautiful. His representation of the evil and guilt of sin is none too strong. If there exist any Unitarian or Churchman "to whom the only image presented of God is of one who allows men to be comfortable, who is not angry with them, who wishes all to be happy, but leaves them to make themselves and each other happy as well as they can," we are sure they may learn better things from Christ's representation of him, who first loved us, and chose us before we chose him. Or if there exist preachers or laymen, of any denomination, "who know something of transgression, almost nothing of sin, to whom the transgression is of a rule rather than a law; with whom breaches of social etiquette and propriety, at most uncomely and unkind habits, seem to compose all the evils they take account of which do not appear in the shape of crime," we are sure they can learn sounder views of the evil and the guilt of sin from Christ and from Paul.

The third Essay is on the Evil Spirit, Satan; doubts of the personal existence and agency of whom Professor Maurice regards as a great practical evil in the Unitarian Church. But these doubts are far from being peculiar to Unitarians. In fact, very little attention has been given to the subject in our denomination in this country. We doubt whether the doctrine has much practical influence in any denomination of Christians among us. As mental culture has advanced, it has been perceived that the theory of evil spirits, whose agency is the cause of wickedness in the human soul, and of the more grievous forms of disease in the body, does not accomplish the end for which it was originated, namely, that of relieving the government of God from the charge of introducing sin, misery, and death into the world. In unphilosophical ages, it was not perceived that the existence of a spirit purely malignant, capable by his power, knowledge, and ubiquity of ruling the powers of the air, and at the same time, and at all times, being present to, tempting, and enslaving the minds of the whole human race, and, by his own agency or that of his demons, afflicting them with the most terrible of their diseases, would, instead of accounting for any evil, constitute the greatest evil to be accounted for under the government of

the wise and benevolent Creator of all spirits. Nor does it avail to say, that not the wickedness, but only the power, knowledge, and ubiquity of Satan and his subject demons, are to be ascribed to the Supreme Being. For the question still recurs, If the mixed character of the human race can be reconciled with the attributes of God only by the theory of the existence of Satan and his demons, how is the unmixed, absolute malice of Satan and his subject demons to be accounted for? What superdiabolic race between the Supreme Being and Satan caused by its temptations the more guilty rebellion and the deeper fall of the diabolic race?

So far as the character of the Supreme Being is concerned, then the theory of the existence of superhuman evil spirits is an absolute nullity. Equally nugatory is it, in our opinion, in its bearing on the depravity of mankind, whatever may be the nature or degree of this depravity. Professor Maurice is of a different opinion. "What this doctrine does theologically with reference to the experience of the depravity or downward tendency in man," says he, "is this;—as it confesses an Evil Spirit, whose assaults are directed against the will in man, it forbids us ever to look upon any disease of our nature as the cause of transgression. The horrible notion, which has haunted moralists, divines, and practical men, that depravity is the law of our being, and not the perpetual tendency to struggle against the law of our being, it discards and anathematizes."

But this appears to us to be as shallow as it is unscriptural. Both consciousness and Scripture teach us that the depravity or downward tendency of which Mr. Maurice speaks, whether it be a law of our nature, or a violation of that law, whether it lie back of the will, or be an exercise of the will, is still a part of ourselves. To assert that it is the physical influence of Satan, independent of the will, holding the soul of man in slavery as his demon subjects do the body, would be to ascribe the sinfulness of man to a foreign physical source, and furnish an excuse for it. But the Scriptures uniformly represent it as the very highest degree of guilt, and the most enormous wickedness, to be under the influence of Satan. But if the influence of Satan is regarded by Professor Maurice as not physical, but only moral or

persuasive, only furnishing suggestions to sin, only a temptation from without, then the temptations of Satan are merely occasional causes of sin, and no more explain the downward tendencies in human nature, than the temptations which men and circumstances present. This seems agreeable to the Scripture representation. The temptations represented as having been placed before David, Jesus, and Judas seem to contain in them no remarkable persuasiveness. Some of them would appear to require very little self-command for their resistance. We think that any father would rather have his son subject to all the temptations which in the Scriptures are represented as suggested by Satan, than to the society of one profligate and abandoned man or woman. Eve tempted Adam, and the Serpent tempted Eve. Why was not the former temptation as great as the latter, and why would the latter be greater, if the Serpent were Satan, than if, as Josephus supposes, he were only a talking animal? Or why would not the mere beauty of the apples be as great a temptation as either? And why would the temptation to fling himself down from the battlements of the temple be greater, if presented to our Saviour by the Evil One, than if presented by a member of the Jewish Sanhedrim?

We still, therefore, are left to account for the depravity in man, whatever it be, which induces him to yield to the temptations of Satan, as much as for that which induces him to yield to the temptations of men and circumstances. In fact, the known appetites, passions, and desires which belong to human nature, in connection with the circumstances in which men are placed, account for all the sin in the world. What judge or jury at the present day attempts to explain the most enormous crimes in any other way than by reference to the character and circumstances of the offenders?

The theory, therefore, of the existence and agency of Satan and his demons is entirely superfluous. It explains nothing in heaven or on earth. It carries no terror with it. The sermon of the distinguished Unitarian, Dr. Priestley, on the danger of evil habits, is adapted to excite more alarm than any description of Satan which we have seen, not even excepting that of our favorite, John Bunyan.

Unless, therefore, there be infallible authority for it, the Jewish doctrine of evil spirits, which existed before and at the time of Christ, would seem to be highly improbable. Whether there be such infallible authority, we have not time and space at present to consider. One thing, however, we will add. The doctrine of the agency of Satan and his subject demons in causing the diseases of curvature of the spine, epilepsy, insanity, and dumbness at the present day, as well as eighteen hundred years ago, is inseparably connected with that of his influence over the soul. The facts are still the same. The diseases still exist in this country, as they did in Palestine. In some countries, as in India, the belief in diabolical agency as their cause, in remarkable harmony with the Jewish conceptions, still exists, and is, as might be expected, attended with the most appalling consequences.* We have no disposition to call in question the merely speculative proposition, that there are evil spirits in the invisible world, or the possibility that they may have some imperceptible influence on the human race. What is that to us? Our business is to attend to our inward tendencies to sin, and to the known temptations which surround us. But to accept the whole Jewish conception of Satan and his angels, with their influence on the bodies and souls of men, is quite another thing. It is not mere speculation, but something which comes home to the bosom, when fathers and mothers are obliged, if consistent in their religious faith, to regard one of their children who may be afflicted with epilepsy, or dumbness, or insanity, as possessed with a demon, or the victim and sport of Satan himself. But if you take one part of the Jewish representation of Satan and his influence on the human race on the mere ground of authority, you are bound in consistency to take the whole. In regard to this question of authority, there is one thing which we may venture to promise. When our orthodox churches and theologians will reconcile with the passages of the New Testament relating to the subject their belief of the cessation of the influence of Satan and his angels upon the bodies of men *at the present day* in causing the above-mentioned diseases, we

* See Roberts's Oriental Illustrations, on Matt. xii. 27.

will undertake to do the same thing in reference to his influence on the human soul. As to the general prevalence of the belief in evil spirits, which some regard as an argument for their existence, we account for it in the same way as for polytheism and other false opinions. There has ever been a tendency to hypostatize the causes or influences by which the good or evil of mankind is effected.

In Essays IV. and V. Professor Maurice speaks of the discovery of a Redeemer by men, by which Redeemer he understands the Divine Son of God, the second person in the Trinity. And to what part of the Scriptures will our Unitarian readers believe that Professor Maurice has taken us to establish this part of his creed? To the book of Job? But it is even so. We will give what he says, in his own language.

“His [Job’s] confidence that he has a righteousness, a real substantial righteousness, which no one shall remove from him, which he will hold fast and not let go, waxes stronger as his pain becomes bitterer and more habitual. There are great alternations of feeling. The deepest acknowledgments of sin come forth from his heart. But he speaks as if his righteousness were deeper and more grounded than that. Sin cleaves very close to him; it seems as if it were part of himself, almost as if it were himself. But his righteousness belongs to him still more entirely. However strange the paradox, it is more himself than even that. He must express that conviction, he does express it, though he knows better than any one can tell him how much it is at variance with what he had been thinking and saying the moment before.

“So also of the suffering. He has wonderful intuitions, ever and anon, of the mercy and goodness of God. He believes that He is trying him, and that He will bring him forth out of the fires. And yet, why does this happen to him? What is it all for? He will not cheat God and outrage His truth, by uttering soft phrases which set at naught the conviction of his heart. There is that about him from which he feels that he ought to be delivered, an anguish of body and soul, which he cannot reconcile with the goodness he yet clings to and trusts in.

“There comes a moment in the life of Job, when these two thoughts, the thought of a righteousness within him which is mightier than the evil, the thought of some deliverance from his suffering which should be also a justification of God, are brought together in his mind. He exclaims, ‘I know that my Redeemer

liveth ; in my flesh I shall see God, I shall see him for myself, and my eyes shall behold him, and not another.' He expects that this Redeemer will stand at the latter day upon the earth. But he evidently does not rest upon an expectation. It is not what this Redeemer may be or may do hereafter he chiefly thinks of. He lives. He is with him now. Therefore he calls upon his friends to say whether they do not see that he has the root of the matter in him.

"At length, we are told, God answers Job out of the whirlwind. He shows him a depth of wisdom in the flight of every bird, and in the structure of every insect, which he cannot dive into. He shows him an order which he is sure is very good, though he is lost in it. Then he says, 'I have heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear ; but now mine eye seeth Thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.' A wonderful conclusion follows. God justifies the complaining man more than those who had pleaded so earnestly for his power and providence. They are forgiven when he prays for them. And the last days of Job are better than the beginning." — pp. 58 – 60.

All this is just, and well expressed. But where is the evidence that it was *the Son* of God in whom Job placed his hope ? Where is the evidence that Job placed his hope in any person, but the one Supreme God ? Is it in the word Redeemer ? But the word Redeemer is everywhere in the Old Testament applied to Jehovah. If in all these cases Professor Maurice maintains the second person of the Trinity to be denoted, then no first person, no Father, is mentioned in the Old Testament. Is it in the words "stand upon the earth" ? But in Psalm xii. 5 we read, "For the sighing of the needy now will I stand up, saith Jehovah," and the same phraseology occurs elsewhere not infrequently. The whole structure of the poem, in which Job is the chief character, shows that by the Redeemer, or Vindicator, elsewhere in our Common Version translated *avenger*, the author understands the Supreme Being. The same person who afflicted Job is confidently expected to deliver him from his afflictions. "Even now," he says, i. e. in the midst of his pains and calumnies, "my Witness is in heaven and my Advocate on high." What can be more consonant to human experience than that the writer should represent Job at one time in a state of extreme depression, arising from the thought of his wrongs, the severity of his afflictions, and the natural tendency of his disease,

as expressing himself in the language of despair, and yet soon after as animated by conscious integrity, and the thought of God's justice, goodness, and power, so that he breaks forth into the language of hope and confidence. Does not the same thing occur in the experience of Him whom all believe to have needed no Redeemer under God? Does not He exclaim at one moment, "Now is my soul troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour!" and in a few moments after, "Now is the Son of Man glorified!" Is not his language at one time, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and in a short time after, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit!" There was no need here, or in the case of Job, to pass from a Father, who could or would not inspire confidence or hope, to a Son, that would. It was only necessary to turn his mind to his Father's righteousness and love. The confidence of Job was justified, when afterwards Jehovah, his Redeemer and Vindicator, stood upon the earth, as represented in chapter xxxviii. etc., and, after having reproved him for irreverence and presumption in argument, pronounces him righteous rather than his friends, and gives him twice as much as he had before.

One would suppose, in reading the two essays under consideration, that Professor Maurice's conception of the first person in the Trinity was the mere impersonation of absolute irresistible power, drawn chiefly from a view of the material world, and standing aloof from the souls of men. Any one entertaining such a view would undoubtedly feel the need of a second person in the Trinity to represent the mercy which man needs, and of still a third, the Comforter, who might communicate light and strength to the soul. But they who have learned from the highest instincts or intuitions of their own souls, as well as from the representations of the Old and New Testaments, to ascribe to the one supreme personal God all the perfections which Professor Maurice ascribes to three persons, find their faith adequate to all their needs. They feel not the need, to which Professor Maurice alludes, of a "daysman," i. e. an umpire, to lay his hand on the Deity and on them, in order to shield them from the Divine power in matters between Him and them, such as Job is represented as desiring in one of his most self-con-

fidant and irreverent speeches, for which he is afterwards, in a strain of sublime irony, reproved by the Deity, and for which he repents in dust and ashes. They do not undervalue the intercession of Christ; but they regard it, not as a means of shielding them from the Divine power, but of commending them to the Divine mercy.

But enough of Professor Maurice's attempt to find the second person of the Trinity in the Book of Job. We turn with pleasure to another Essay, that on the Atonement. We are not sure that we comprehend, or assent to, all the somewhat mystical speculations of Professor Maurice on the subject. But one thing he makes perfectly clear, namely, that he believes the essence of the Atonement to consist in Christ's delivering men from sin and not from punishment, and implanting in them by the grace of God a true righteousness. He rejects with horror every vestige of the received or orthodox doctrine, — the only view of the Atonement which Unitarians have cared to oppose, — the doctrine of vicarious punishment, punishment by substitute, that which represents God as inflicting upon Christ all the punishment which the wicked deserve, or one equivalent to it. Even in the diluted form in which it is presented by Archbishop Magee, Professor Maurice regards it as of most pernicious tendency. We cannot but rejoice when we see one distinguished writer after another of different religious denominations, Baptist, Congregational, and Episcopalian, such as Dr. Wayland,* Dr. Bushnell, Coleridge,† and Professor Maurice, contributing their aid toward effacing this hideous blot upon our common Christianity. We will make a considerable extract on this subject, as valuable in itself, and explaining the views of our author: —

“ I admitted that there were grave and earnest protests against much of what is called the Protestant doctrine of the Atonement. ‘ You hold,’ it is said, ‘ that God had condemned all his creatures to perish, because they had broken his law; that his justice could not be satisfied without an infinite punishment; that that infinite punishment would have visited all men, if Christ in his mercy to men had not interposed and offered himself as the substitute for them; that, by enduring an inconceivable amount of anguish, he reconciled the Father, and

* University Sermons, p. 146.

† Aids to Reflection, Aph. 19.

made it possible for him to forgive those who would believe. 'This whole statement,' the objector continues, 'is based on a certain notion of justice. It professes to explain, on certain principles of justice, what God ought to have done, and what he actually has done. And this notion of justice outrages the conscience to which you seem to offer your explanation. You often feel that it does. You admit that it is not the kind of justice which would be expected of men. And then you turn round and ask us what we can know of God's justice; how we can tell that it is of the same kind with ours? After arguing with us, to show the necessity of a certain course, you say that the argument is good for nothing; we are not capable of taking it in! Or else you say that the carnal mind cannot understand spiritual ideas. We can only answer, We prefer our carnal notion of justice to your spiritual one. We can forgive a fellow-creature a wrong done to us, without exacting an equivalent for it; we blame ourselves if we do not; we think we are offending against Christ's command, who said, "Be ye merciful as your Father in heaven is merciful," if we do not. We do not feel that punishment is a satisfaction to our minds; we are ashamed of ourselves when we consider it is. We may suffer a criminal to be punished, but it is that we may do him good, or assert a principle. And if that is our object, we do not suffer an innocent person to prevent the guilty from enduring the consequences of his guilt, by taking them upon himself. Are these moral maxims in our case, or are the opposing maxims moral? If they are moral, should we, because God is much more righteous than we can imagine or understand, attribute to him what we should consider a very low righteousness, or unrighteousness, in us?'

"These questions are asked on all sides of us. It is obvious that they are most deep and awful questions. They touch upon the very principles of morality and godliness. I know well how clergymen persuade themselves that it is right and safe to pass them by. They say, 'Such doubts bewilder the minds of our flocks upon a doctrine which is, of all others, the most vital. Let one of these objectors,' they say, 'go with us to the bed-sides of some of the humblest, purest Christians. We will show them those who have grown up from their childhood in love and good works. We will show them penitent Magdalens. The testimony of both will be the same. "To lose this doctrine, of God having reconciled sinners to himself, would be to lose every thing. Without it we do not care for life here or hereafter. We do not know what life here or hereafter could mean." Are we to rob such souls as these of their treasure, because some captious people find the casket which contains it disagree-

able to their pride,—because they cannot bend their reasons to the cross?’

“I answer, No; you are to defend this treasure to the death. You are to let no man take it from those suffering spirits, or— if you have it—from yourselves. You are to desire that all, you among the rest, should be brought, with all your notions and theories, to the cross. But what is the treasure which you see your humble, dying saints grasping with such intense resolution? Is it not the belief which is expressed in our collect for Passion Week, that ‘God of his tender love towards mankind sent his Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, to take our flesh upon him, that all mankind should follow the example of his great humility’? Is not this love of God, this perfect obedience of Christ to his Father’s loving will, the ground of all their confidence, their hope, their humility? Has their confidence, their hope, their humility, any thing whatever to do with the theory that has fastened itself to this doctrine of Atonement, and, in many minds, has taken the place of it? Do you hear any allusion to it amidst the pauses of that sepulchral cough? Does the feverish hand clasp yours with thankful joy, when you speak of a Divine justice delighting in infinite punishment? Does the loving, peaceful eye respond to the idea that the Son of God has delivered his creatures from their Father’s determination to execute his wrath upon them?” — pp. 137–141.

Again, he says:—

“I must give up Archbishop Magee, for I am determined to keep that which makes the Atonement precious to my heart and conscience.” — p. 149.

In the Essay on the Judgment Day, Professor Maurice advocates the view, that no one particular time is denoted, but rather the various and constant judgments on kingdoms and individuals, which under the reign of Christ are taking place in the world. He says:—

“I am quite prepared to bear the charges, that I have now been defending an ideal, and not an actual, judgment day, and that I confound the spiritual kingdom of Christ with his reign over the earth. I can only answer, as I have answered before, that I have found the current notions of a judgment, not exactly ideal, but exceedingly fantastic, figurative, inoperative, and that I have tried to ascertain whether Scripture does not give us the hint of something more practical and more substantial. If the popular notion on this subject is thought necessary to produce terror in the minds of thieves and vagabonds, I own that I am ideal enough to think the constabulary force a more useful, effect-

ual, and also a more godly instrument. That does assert the existence of an actual present justice ; that does awaken in the consciences of evil men the sense of a law, which never loses sight of them, and may find out their darkest deeds ; that holds out to their merely animal nature, which requires such discipline, the prospect of a sure and speedy punishment. If, again, the popular notion on this subject is wanted as an influence to act habitually on the lives of ordinary worldly men, and it is alleged that I have substituted for it the notion of a mysterious judgment, of which it is impossible that such men can make any account, — then I reply, that it is precisely this kind of mysterious judgment which these men do recognize, and to which they pay habitual homage under the name of Public Opinion. But if you require this popular notion for the sake of religious men, or of those who are looking forward to some great improvement in the constitution of the world, then I say it is quite clear that such men are not in the least satisfied with it, but are inclined rudely to discard it. Such men demand for *themselves* an habitual government, inspection, judgment, reaching to the roots of their heart and will ; such men demand for the earth some complete deliverance from all that defiles it and sets it in rebellion against a true and righteous King.” — pp. 307, 308.

In the Essay on Inspiration the author's aim is to show that the same kind of inspiration is afforded to Christians at the present day, which was afforded to the Prophets and Apostles. Infallible inspiration, therefore, seems to be no part of his creed. He says : “ St. Paul's Gospel was human and universal. It explained indeed the influence of seers and prophets ; it asserted the existence of special endowments ; it put all honor upon distinct callings. But first of all, it asserted that the Spirit was necessary for all human beings, and was intended for all. And this human gift it did not degrade below the other, as being a secondary, inferior exhibition of that which the great man obtained in its highest form.”

The Essay on the Trinity in Unity has suggested to us the doubt, whether after all Professor Maurice understands by it any thing more than a revelative or nominal trinity, a revelation to the human mind of three phases of the Divine character, or three modes of operation of the one Divine mind. If he understand the Church formulas as expressing three proper persons, immanent in God, we can only wonder at the kind of reasoning which he employs in their defence. He says nothing to reconcile that

view of the Trinity, which Unitarians have opposed, with Scripture or reason, but only confirms those essential ideas of God which Unitarians accept. Unitarians have never renounced their baptism. They believe that the form of it was designed to include, and does include, the most important ideas, truths, or obligations of the Christian religion. They believe that their spiritual nature demands all that is implied in it. They believe that the essential ideas which underlie the Trinitarian formula, in the various ways in which it has been expressed, are all that have given to it its hold on the Christian Church. We believe in the Christian Trinity. It is the mere work of the human understanding which we reject, the hypostatizing of the attributes or operations of the one Eternal Mind into three distinct persons, to each of which peculiar volitions, actions, and offices are attributed. The reasoning employed by Professor Maurice, instead of reconciling us to the Athanasian formula of the Trinity, is adapted to confirm us in our opposition to it. He says;—

“I have not, then, to enter upon a new subject in this Essay. I am not speaking for the first time of the Trinity in Unity. I have been speaking of it throughout. Each consciousness that we have discovered in man, each fact of Revelation that has answered to it, has been a step in the discovery and demonstration of this truth. I should be abandoning the method to which I have endeavored strictly to adhere, if I admitted that now, at last, I have come upon a mere dogma, which had no support but tradition, or inferences from texts of Scripture; or, on the other hand, upon a great philosophical tenet which wise men may deduce from reason or find latent in nature, but with which the poor wayfarer has nothing to do. We may owe much to tradition for giving expression to the faith in a Trinity; texts of Scripture may confirm it; the context of Scripture may bring it out in beautiful harmony with all the Divine discoveries to man. Philosophy may have seen indications of a Trinity in the forms and principles of the universe, in the constitution of man himself. But unless we are utterly inconsistent with all that has been said hitherto, these can be but indexes and guides to a Name which is implied in our thoughts, acts, words, in our fellowship with each other; without which we cannot explain the utterances of the poorest peasant, or of the greatest sage; which makes thoughts real, prayers possible; which brings distinctness out of vagueness, unity out of division; which shows us how in fact, and not

merely in imagination, the charity of God may find its reflex and expression in the charity of man, and the charity of man its substance as well as its fruition in the charity of God. What I have to do in this Essay, then, is certainly not to bring forth arguments against those who impugn this doctrine, but only to show how each portion of that Name into which we are baptized answers to some apprehension and anticipation of human beings; how the setting up of one part of the Name against another has been the cause of strife, unrighteousness, superstition; why, therefore, the acknowledgment of that Name in its fulness and Unity is Eternal Life." — pp. 408–410.

We should be glad to make some further comments on this subject, but we will only refer to one passage in the Essay on the Holy Spirit, because it contains a misapprehension of the views of Unitarians which is very common, namely, that which supposes them to deny the personality of the Holy Spirit. "After all," he says, "how easy it has been for the Unitarian to deny the personality of the Spirit, and even to find Scriptural excuses for his denial!" Where he found the Christian Unitarians who deny the personality of the Holy Spirit, it is difficult for us to conjecture. Certainly such a denial is not to be found in the writings of the most distinguished Unitarians. No writer has had a wider influence in relation to this subject, both in England and America, than Dr. Lardner. But Dr. Lardner may as well be accused of denying the personality of God, as of denying the personality of the Holy Spirit. "First of all," says he, "I think that, in many places, the *spirit*, or the *spirit of God*, or the *Holy Ghost*, is equivalent to God himself."* It is true, that Unitarians, *in common with all other Christians*, believe that the phrase Holy Spirit, besides denoting the personal God acting on the human soul, is also used figuratively to denote the instrumentalities by which he works, or the effects which he produces, and the gifts which he bestows. But they would as soon think of maintaining that the spirit of a man is not personal, as that the spirit of God is not personal. "The spirit of the truth, and the spirit of God by which it is produced," says the most distinguished Unitarian theologian which our country has produced, in an unpublished note on John xvi.

* First Postscript to the Letter on the Logos.

13-15, "become interchangeable terms. The former is the effect of the latter acting upon the mind. The spirit of Christianity, viewed in reference to the cause which produces it and coexists with it, is the spirit of God. It is under this double aspect that the spirit spoken of by Jesus is to be regarded throughout this discourse. This language is conformed sometimes more to one view of it, and sometimes more to the other. In the passage before us, it is to be regarded as the spirit of God directly illuminating the minds of the Apostles, and aiding them in their labors. It is further to be observed that this spirit is personified by our Lord, as the Teacher who was coming to supply his place. His language concerning it is of course conformed to this personification. It is throughout figurative, and consequently does not admit of being taken in a literal sense. The meaning of it in the passage before us may be thus explained: 'He will not speak from himself, but will speak what he hears.' Our Lord had before said of his own teaching, 'I speak not of myself.' 'The words which you hear are not mine, but the Father's who sent me.' He now describes in the same manner the Teacher who was to supply his place. The meaning of his words is, that there would be no error in the instructions and guidance of that Teacher, such as might be apprehended from a merely human teacher, speaking from himself. God, through the influences of his spirit, would himself enlighten, strengthen, and direct them."

The concluding Essay, on *Eternal Life and Eternal Death*, is that which has attracted most attention on account of the important consequences to the author by which it was followed; namely, his exclusion from his professorship in a College under the patronage of the Church of England. Dr. Jelf, the Principal of the College, first desired of Professor Maurice an explanation of the sentiments contained in this Essay, with which being dissatisfied, he proceeded in concurrence with and in the name of the Council of the Institution, to administer to him his sentence of dismissal. Hence naturally followed the Letter to Dr. Jelf on the word *Eternal* and the *Punishment of the Wicked*, which has been reprinted in New York. The whole amount of the charge against Professor Maurice is, that he has expressed doubts in re-

gard to the endless punishment of the wicked, and his belief of the possibility of the final salvation of all men, with hopes of its reality. It seems to us that the procedure of the authorities of King's College, in excluding him from his professorship for doubting or denying a doctrine which is contained in no one of the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church, and which has been doubted or denied by some of its highest dignitaries and brightest ornaments, such as Archbishop Tillotson, Bishop Newton, Jeremy Taylor, William Law, Samuel Clark, John Locke, and others, was an act of gross oppression. In a church which has had an established creed for centuries, it is surely quite enough for a professor to keep himself within the trammels of it. One would suppose that an accomplished and liberal-minded man might find it a very severe strain upon his reason and conscience to do so much as that. We wish there was more ground than we fear there is, to hope that Dr. Jelf and his coadjutors might receive the rebuke which they deserve from the authorities of the English Church, as well as from public opinion.

The briefest passages in which Professor Maurice sets forth his views on this important subject are the following: —

"The word 'eternal,' if what I have said is true, is a key-word of the New Testament. To draw our minds from the temporal, to fix them on the eternal, is the very aim of the Divine economy. How much ought we, then, to dread any confusion between thoughts which our Lord has taken such pains to keep distinct, — which our consciences tell us ought to be kept distinct! How dangerous to introduce the notion of duration into a word from which he has deliberately excluded it! And yet this is precisely what we are in the habit of doing, and it is this which causes such infinite perplexity to our minds. 'Try to conceive,' the teacher says, 'a thousand years. Multiply these by a thousand, by twenty thousand, by a hundred thousand, by a million. Still you as far off from eternity as ever.' Certainly I am, quite as far. Why then did you give me that sum to work out? What could be the use of it, except to bewilder me, except to make me disbelieve in eternity altogether? Do you not see that this course must be utterly wrong and mischievous? If eternity is the great reality of all, and not a portentous fiction, how dare you impress such a notion of fictitiousness on my mind as your process of illustration conveys? 'But is it not

the only process ? ' Quite the only one, so far as I see, if you will bring time into the question ; if you will have years and centuries to prevent you from taking in the sublime truth, ' This is life eternal, to know God.' " — pp. 436, 437.

" And what are we doing with that high and holy office of judgment which we assign to Christ ? He speaks of few stripes and many stripes : he makes us feel that there will be the most accurate and just assertion of what each man is ; the most righteous vindication of every wish, and thought, and hope, that has been true, and that has therefore sprung from him ; the is found. And we, under pretence of interpreting the text, most righteous condemnation of that which is false, wherever it ' Where the tree falleth, it shall lie,' — which apparently has very little to do with the subject, but, if it has, suggests the most opposite sense to this, — affirm that the whole body of human creatures who have not yet apprehended Christ as their Justifier, and God as their Father, pass from hence into a state in which that apprehension is impossible. We, and not Christ, are judging ! And our judgment proceeds on the principle that there is no living relation between him and the creatures whose nature he took, and for whom he died.

" This cannot be Protestantism, cannot be Christianity. Let us Englishmen live and die to assert that it is not. We do not want theories of Universalism ; they are as cold, hard, unsatisfactory, as all other theories. But we want that clear, broad assertion of the Divine charity which the Bible makes, and which carries us immeasurably beyond all that we can ask or think. What dreams of ours can reach to the assertion of St. John, that death and hell themselves shall be cast into the lake of fire ? I cannot fathom the meaning of such expressions. But they are written ; I accept them, and give thanks for them. I feel there is an abyss of death, into which I may sink and be lost. Christ's Gospel reveals an abyss of love, below that ; I am content to be lost in that. I know no more, but I am sure that there is a woe on us if we do not preach this Gospel, if we do not proclaim the name of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, — the Eternal Charity. Whenever we do proclaim that name, I believe we invade the realm of night and eternal death, and open the kingdom of heaven." — pp. 441 — 443.

From these passages it appears that there is in this Essay on this most interesting subject no confident dogmatism on the part of Professor Maurice, but only a modest expression of the same doubts and difficulties which have arisen in religious minds, not only in the Church of England, but in all denominations of Chris-

tians, and in all ages of the Church, from its very foundation. We have not time and space to go largely into the subject. We will only advert to one great fact, which ought, as it seems to us, to excite doubts in all minds in regard to the endless punishment of the wicked; namely, the fact, that so many persons leave the present world with a manifest capacity of improvement. If all who were called by their Creator from the present life were hardened offenders, on whom moral discipline would be likely to be thrown away, there would be less reason to wonder at the confidence of the advocates of endless punishment, however much their views might seem to conflict with the revealed attributes of God. Even among the most hardened and abandoned sinners, we find so many instances of reformation through means of Divine appointment, that we have no right to say that any are beyond the reach of Divine influences. There seems to be in all men a principle of reverence for duty and for God, and a capacity of being touched by benevolence and kindness, which, though often smothered by sense and passion, never become extinct. Although the case of the most hardened in sin may seem to be nearly hopeless, as long as they remain in this world, amid the temptations which have overpowered them, may there not be a hope that the inextinguishable sentiment of duty and religion may yet revive, under circumstances and influences which the Divine Mind, in the inexhaustible riches of its wisdom and mercy, may know how to employ? So much may be said for the most hardened offenders against human and Divine law. But it is well known that the majority of those who leave the world are not such as these, but rather such as are manifestly capable of reformation. Some die at the age of ten, fifteen, or twenty, who are irreligious and vicious, but yet as capable of reformation, and as likely to become religious and good men, as those whom they leave behind them in life. Is it not probable that they will have such an opportunity, as well as those whom God detains in this world? Is the mere place where they are to make an infinite difference between the youth of fifteen or twenty who has crossed the flood, and the one who is left on this side of it? Has he gone out of the Divine dominions? Has he not been merely

transferred from one province of God's empire to another? Is it not more worthy of the Governor of all worlds and all spirits, to place these young minds in a state of discipline, which shall convert them into his obedient subjects, than to throw them away by annihilation, or to condemn them to endless torment?

And what may be said of those who die in early years in Christian countries applies to the heathen, and to slaves in all countries, who, whatever may be said in apology for their moral condition, are yet full of intrinsically bad dispositions and habits. Is it not more probable that the heathen, whose very religion encourages some bad dispositions, and slaves, the condition of whose birth renders vice all but inevitable, will hereafter be placed in circumstances, and subjected to a discipline, by which they may be reclaimed, than that they should be struck out of existence, or consigned to endless despair? Might not such considerations as these have rendered the modest doubts and queries of Professor Maurice at least pardonable? But what is so hard-hearted as religious bigotry!

But while we sympathize with Professor Maurice, in view of his hard treatment, and coincide with him in his doctrinal views touching the subject under consideration, we are obliged to differ from him very widely in regard to his Scriptural argument, or rather his view of the meaning of the Greek term *αἰώνιος* and the English word *eternal*. The opinion expressed by him, that the idea of duration is to be excluded from either of these terms, strikes us as an enormous paradox, wholly in opposition to the usage of words, *usus loquendi*, both in the Greek and the English language.

We are absolutely astonished that a scholar, so distinguished in the Universities of England as to become a professor, should advance so singular an opinion. It is more especially strange, as Professor Maurice, in common with the Tractarian party, professes great deference to authority, particularly to the authority of the Church of England. But was no deference due to the authority of the universal church of scholars, lexicographers, and commentators, in regard to the meaning of a Greek term of very common occurrence in the Scriptures? Professor Maurice, in excluding the idea of duration from the

term *αἰώνιος*, and making it express some quality which may be experienced in this world, has set himself in contradiction to all the classical Greek dictionaries, such as those of Stephens, Scapula, Hedericus, Schneider, Passow, Liddell and Scott, and to all the lexicons of the Old and New Testaments, such as those of Schleusner, Wahl, Bretschneider, and Robinson. He has also contradicted every Biblical commentator from the time of the Church Fathers to the present day, in all countries of Christendom. Now, if the chief justice of the highest court in England should found the decision of a cause on the meaning of a word contrary to that which had been assigned to it by all lawyers and all judges, in all courts of law, in all countries of the world, and in all ages from the time of Justinian, we suppose that little respect would be paid to his decision, whatever claim he might lay to legal discernment, and however much contempt he might express for the "formal" understandings of those who differed from him. Why should we judge differently, when a new meaning is put upon a Scriptural term, or rather a common term in the Greek language?

But we are aware, that, in a case of criticism, authority is to be resorted to with great caution. There is the less need of it in this case, since the term *αἰώνιος* is of very common occurrence in the New Testament, and in the Septuagint version of the Old. It occurs more than a hundred times in the latter, and more than seventy times in the former, so that there is ample opportunity for applying the most important considerations which the art of interpretation suggests for discovering the meaning of a word, such as the usage of language, the connection of the discourse, the different subjects to which it is applied, and parallel expressions and passages. We are sure that no scholar can spend half an hour in applying these considerations to the subject under consideration, with the help of Trommius's Concordance on the Old, and Schmidt's or Bruder's on the New Testament, without being convinced that the opinion which excludes the idea of duration from the term *αἰώνιος* is altogether baseless. But as all our readers do not read Greek, and some who read it do not own these concordances, we will refer to a few passages of the Septuagint. Gen. ix. 12, *eis γενεὰς αἰώνιους*, for perpetual generations. Throughout the Pentateuch the term is frequent.

ly applied to a law, or statute, or covenant, and is translated *perpetual*. Numb. xxv. 13, *an everlasting* priesthood. Job xxii. 15, *the old* way, *τρίβον αἰώνιον*; xli. 23 (Com. Ver. xli. 4), a servant *for ever*, *δούλον αἰώνιον*. Our former excellent contributor, Mr. Goodwin, would hardly call the leviathan a *spiritual* servant. Ps. xxiii. 7, 9 (xxiv.), *everlasting* doors, *πύλαι αἰώνιαι*; lxxv. 5 (lxxvi. 4), *ἀπὸ ὀρέων αἰώνιων*, from the *everlasting* mountains; lxxvi. 6 (lxxvii. 5), the years of *old*, *ἔτη αἰώνια*; lxxvii. 66 (lxxviii.), a *perpetual* reproach. Proverbs xxii. 28, *the ancient* landmarks, *ὄρια αἰώνια*. Isaiah xxiv. 5, broken the *everlasting* covenant; xxxv. 10, come to Zion with songs and *everlasting* joy upon their heads; liv. 8, I hid my face for a moment, but with *everlasting* kindness will I have mercy on thee; lv. 13, an *everlasting* sign, *σημεῖον αἰώνιον*; lvi. 5, an *everlasting* name, which shall not be cut off; lviii. 12, *the old* waste places, *αἱ ἔρημοι αἰώνιοι*; lx. 20, the Lord shall be thine *everlasting* light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended; lx. 15, *an eternal* excellency, the joy of many generations; lxiii. 11, the days of *old*, *ἡμερῶν αἰώνιων*. Jeremiah v. 22, a *perpetual* decree; vi. 16, *the old* paths. xviii. 15, *the ancient* paths; xviii. 17, a *perpetual* hissing; xxiv. 40, an *everlasting* reproach; xxv. 12, *perpetual* desolations; xxxi. 3, with an *everlasting* love; xli. 39, a *perpetual* sleep, and not wake. Ezekiel xxxv. 5, a *perpetual* hatred. Daniel xii. 2, some to *everlasting* life, and some to shame and *everlasting* contempt. Habakkuk iii. 5, the *everlasting* hills, his *everlasting* paths, *ἐτάκτισαν βουνοὶ αἰώνιοι, ποταμοὶ αἰώνιας ἀβύσσου*. Daniel iv. 3 (iii. 34), His kingdom is an *everlasting* kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation. Isaiah liv. 4, Thou shalt forget thy *ancient* shame. Job xxi. 11, *πρόβατα αἰώνια*, *old*, perhaps *long-dead* sheep. Isaiah lviii. 12, Thy foundations shall be *everlasting* through generations of generations. So much for the use of the word *αἰώνιος* in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, from which the New Testament use of words must have been in great measure borrowed.

In the New Testament, its most frequent application is to the blessed life which is revealed and promised by Christ to his followers, and is indiscriminately translated *everlasting*, or *eternal*, life. It is so used in fifty-one passages. In seven other passages it is applied to the state of the wicked in the future world, or to the perpet-

ual destruction of impious cities in this world. Thus, Matthew xviii. 8, It is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than, having two hands or two feet, to be cast into *everlasting* fire. Matthew xxv. 41, Depart from me, ye cursed, into *everlasting* fire; 46, These shall go away into *everlasting* punishment, but the righteous into *everlasting* life. Mark iii. 29, hath never forgiveness, but shall be in danger of *eternal* damnation. 2 Thessalonians i. 9, Who shall be punished with *everlasting* destruction, &c. Hebrews vi. 2, resurrection of the dead, and *eternal* judgment, κριμῶτος αἰώνιου. 2 Thessalonians i. 9, who shall be punished with *everlasting* destruction, &c. Jude 7, Sodom and Gomorrah are set forth for an example, — suffering the vengeance of *eternal* fire. Sodom and Gomorrah certainly did not suffer the vengeance of *spiritual* fire. Other applications of the term αἰώνιος are in Luke xvi. 9, *everlasting* habitations, in contradistinction from the perishable houses of men. Romans xvi. 25, χρόνους αἰώνιους, literally, in the *most ancient* or *everlasting* times; in the Common Version, *since the world began*; 26. *the everlasting* God. 2 Corinthians iv. 17, Our light affliction, which is but *for a moment*, worketh out for us a far more exceeding, even an *eternal* weight of glory; 18, The things which are seen are *temporal*, πρόσκαιρα, *enduring for a time*; but the things which are not seen are *eternal*. 2 Corinthians v. 1, If our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, *eternal* in the heavens. 2 Thessalonians ii. 16, *everlasting* consolation. 1 Timothy vi. 16, to whom be honor and power *everlasting*. 2 Timothy i. 9, πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνων, literally, before the *most ancient* or *everlasting* times; in the Common Version, *before the world began*. Titus i. 2, which God *promised* πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνων, literally, before the *times of old*, or the *everlasting* times, that is, the times of the prophets. 2 Timothy ii. 10, that they may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with *eternal* glory. Philemon 15, He departed for a season, that thou shouldst receive him *for ever*, ἵνα αἰώνιον αὐτὸν ἀπείχης. Hebrews x. 9, the author of *eternal* salvation; ix. 12, He entered *once for all* into the holy place, having obtained *eternal* redemption for us; 14, through the *eternal* spirit; xiii. 20, the blood of the *everlasting* covenant.

1 Peter v. 10, with *eternal* glory. Revelation xiv. 6, the *everlasting* Gospel. From these examples of the use of the term *aiónios* in the Old Testament and in the New, it would seem to be very evident, that, though the term is sometimes used in a loose and sometimes in a stricter signification, the idea of *duration* of greater or less extent is always implied in it. This appears from the subjects to which the word is applied, and the things with which it is contrasted. It also appears that the term is generally correctly translated in the Common Version, and also that the translators regarded the Saxon term *everlasting* as entirely synonymous, when applied to life and punishment, with the Latin term *eternal*. When the word *aiónios* or the corresponding Hebrew term עוֹלָם is translated *everlasting* and *eternal* in the same verse, it was probably so rendered by King James's translators and their predecessors for the sake of euphony. Thus, in Jeremiah xxiii. 40, I will bring an *everlasting* reproach upon you, and a *perpetual* shame, &c., the original for both words is the same in both the Hebrew and Greek. If we supposed that any one, after examining the passages which we have adduced, could doubt whether the idea of duration belongs to *aiónios*, as its constant signification, we might amply establish the opinion which we have maintained, by the etymology of the term, and by parallel expressions in the Scriptures.

Nor is it very clear to us what idea Professor Maurice intends to substitute in the term *aiónios* in place of the idea of duration. We thought at first that he had got upon the same track with a former respected contributor to our Journal, who several years ago made an attempt to show that the term in question, when applied to the punishment of the wicked and the blessedness of the righteous, should be translated *spiritual*;^{*} an attempt in which he succeeded in convincing few of our own, and still fewer, if possible, of any other denomination. That term, being a very general one, may be substituted for *everlasting* or *eternal* in some passages without making nonsense, but in others it cannot. It is altogether opposed, as we have seen, to the Scriptural usage in rela-

* See Christian Examiner, Vol. V. Old Series, and Vols. IV., V., VII. and IX. New Series.

tion to the term, and to the considerations which have been, and others which might be, adduced. Besides, if the speaker or writer had wished to express the idea indicated by our word *spiritual*, there was a common word in Greek, *πνευματικός*, which he would undoubtedly have used. But on closer examination, Professor Maurice does not appear to have adopted the view of Mr. Goodwin. He admits and maintains that *eternal* is the correct translation of *αἰώνιος*, but distinguishes it from *everlasting*, and excludes the idea of duration from it. But what quality or condition is expressed by the term, he does not tell us with any definiteness. To say that it expresses a certain something, "independent of our time notions and earth relations," is to say nothing positive at all. What is that certain something? It has occurred to us that Professor Maurice supposed *eternal* to express a simple and undefinable idea, the positive or absolute idea of infinity; an idea which Sir William Hamilton pronounces to be an impossible attainment to the human mind. Thus he says, "Every peasant knows it as well as Newton. If you have listened with earnestness to the questions of a child, you may often think that it knows more of eternity than time. Its intuition of something beyond all dates makes you marvel." But without inquiring whether a positive idea of eternity, as applied to the Deity, and to the life of the blessed, is attainable by the human mind, we cannot see how, in consistency with his own principles, Professor Maurice can apply it to the ignorance, the wickedness, the fire, the damnation, the punishment, of those who know not God. This, then, would not seem to be his meaning. What then is it? The nearest approach to a definition of his meaning is in the Letter to Dr. Jelf, p. 16. "The word *αἰώνιος*, or *æternus*, seems to have been divinely contrived to raise us out of our time notions, — to express those spiritual or heavenly things which are *subject to no change or succession*." Well, suppose that such a meaning might be applied to the Deity, or even to the life of the blessed, how, on his own principles, is it applicable to the ignorance of God, the perversity, the fire, the punishment, which are the portion of the wicked? How much more hopeful is it to depart into *unchanging* fire, and *unchanging* punishment, than into *everlasting* fire, and *everlasting* punishment? Let

any one, moreover, apply the idea of unchangeableness to many of the subjects to which *aláwnos* is applied in the Old and New Testaments, and he will find the result to be nonsense.

Perhaps, in opposition to what has been adduced in regard to the use of the term *aláwnos* in the Old Testament and the New, it may be contended that our Saviour infused a new meaning into the word, as he did into the terms *Messiah, kingdom of God, &c.* But there is not the slightest indication that Christ used the term under consideration in any other than its common acceptance. In favor of his notion of excluding the idea of duration from the term, Professor Maurice adduces such passages as John xvii. 3, This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, &c. He that believeth on me *hath* everlasting life. He seems to suppose that these passages imply that eternity is experienced by the Christian on earth. But to these passages two satisfactory explanations may be given, in perfect consistency with the common meaning of *eternal* and *everlasting*. The first is founded on the well-known fact, that in such propositions the predicate often denotes the consequences of any thing, and the subject the cause, or the means by which it is procured. Thus, in Proverbs ix. 22, My sayings are life to them that find them, i. e. *give* life; x. 29, The way of the Lord is strength to the upright, i. e. *imparts* strength. John vi. 63, The words that I speak to you *are* life, i. e. *give* life. "Where ignorance is bliss," &c. The meaning of John xvii. 3, therefore, may be, that life eternal is the consequence of knowing the only true God, &c. In regard to the expression "*hath* everlasting life," the use of the present for the future is a common idiom in the Gospel of John. It is also a common idiom of the Hebrew language, and of course of the New Testament Greek, to use the present for the future, where the certainty of a promise or prediction is denoted. But, secondly, supposing, what is not improbable, that our Saviour meant to declare that the knowledge and love of God, or the faith in Christ which leads to it, constitute the very essence of everlasting or eternal life, or that this life begins on earth, it is by no means implied that eternity is experienced on earth, but only that the life of the blessed is *in part* experienced here. Professor Maurice applies to

the whole phrase "eternal life," and "eternal death," what is included in the terms "life" and "death," according to Scriptural usage, without any epithet annexed. It is no doubt true, that the blessed life of the Christian is begun on earth, and consummated in heaven. But there is still another idea connected by our Saviour with this life in the word *eternal*, namely, that it will be *enduring*; that it will *endure* for ever. "Your fathers," says he, in another passage, "ate manna and died. He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever." So the Apostle Paul, "Prophecies shall fail and tongues shall cease, but charity never faileth."

On the whole, therefore, we leave the Essay and Letter of Professor Maurice with the conviction, that, though his general doctrinal view is agreeable to reason, to the attributes of God, to the character of Christ, and to the spirit of the Gospel, his mode of defending it, so far as the meaning of the term *aiónios* is concerned, is dark, confused, and utterly erroneous. The writer has yet to learn to study the Scriptures by the help of lexicon and concordance, and to bend his mind to a conformity with established principles of interpretation. Spiritual disengagement, or that Divine inspiration which Professor Maurice claims for the true Christian, is a mighty help for the attainment of truth. We cheerfully concede to him the possession of it in large measure. But when one undertakes to give the meaning of a teacher or writer, it is a sin against the Holy Spirit, as well as against common sense, to set at defiance the established laws of language.

And now, perhaps, some reader, if any have followed us thus far, may have the curiosity to ask, what is our mode of escaping from the conclusion, that the fearful doctrine which Professor Maurice has called in question, the doctrine of the endless punishment of the wicked, is a doctrine of Christ. We cannot, at the close of an article already long, go into a full examination of so important a subject. We will content ourselves with making a few remarks on one of the principal passages relating to it, namely, Matthew xxv. 46. Many of our remarks, however, will apply as well to other passages, particularly those containing the words *for ever and ever*; the word *aiónios* being derived from the noun *aión*, which

is thus translated. We set out, however, with the declaration, that we do not undertake to maintain positively and with confidence, that our Saviour did *not* understand the term *aiónos*, or rather the Hebrew עולם or the Syriac ܥܠܡ as denoting *everlasting* or *eternal* in the strictest sense. But we will endeavor to show that we have good reasons for entertaining strong doubts whether he did, and for believing that he understood the term in a mitigated sense, as implying long duration, but not eternity in the metaphysical sense of the expression; or at least, that he meant the whole passage Matt. xxv. 41–46 to be understood in a sense not inconsistent with forgiveness of sin and restoration to holiness in the world to come. We allow also, and maintain, that the Common Version gives as correct a translation of the verse under consideration, as any which the English language admits, though, to avoid misapprehension, it would have been better to use the same word in both parts of the sentence. We should prefer, “These shall go away into *everlasting* punishment, but the righteous into *everlasting* life,” as it is rendered in the version of Wickliffe, and as he renders the term throughout the New Testament. But we have no objection to the word *eternal*, as in this connection it would have precisely the same import.

But that the proposition may be understood as not declaring the strict eternity of the punishment of the wicked in the metaphysical sense of the term, is rendered probable from the following considerations.

1. The Greek word *aiónos*, and still more the corresponding Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac terms, are, in their ordinary, and not exceptional, signification, used in a more indefinite sense, and with a much wider application, than the English words *everlasting* and *eternal*. This appears from all the lexicons,* from the numerous passages above quoted from the Old Testament and the New, and from many others, which might be adduced. These passages show that the original term denotes long and indefinite duration, whether relating to the past or the future, and that it is often applied to things which have had a beginning, and which have had, or will have, an end. Thus it is applied to the Mosaic statutes, to

* See especially Gesenius on עולם, and Schleusner, Wahl, and Robinson on *aiónos*.

the Jewish priesthood, to the time in which a person might be held as a slave, to the doors of the temple, to ways, to landmarks, to waste places, to the possession of the land of Canaan, to the times of the ancient prophets, to the mountains and hills, and other similar things. On the other hand, it appears with equal clearness that the term is applied to God, to the spirit of God, and to the future happiness of the good, as denoting the longest conceivable duration, duration without beginning or without end. But whether long continued or whether infinite duration is denoted, cannot be determined from the word itself. This must be determined from the subject to which it is applied, from the connection, and other considerations. In fact, the different meanings so run into each other, that it is sometimes difficult to say which meaning is intended.

2. There is a popular use of language for the purpose of impression, and a philosophical use of language for the purpose of the accurate statement of a doctrine. There is also a plain, proper use of language, and an emotional, figurative, hyperbolical use of it, in which expressions must be very much limited by the reader or hearer before they can be understood as representing literal truth. Now the expressions *everlasting* fire, *everlasting* punishment, occur in a passage which all regard as in a high degree figurative; in which, for the purpose of vivid impression, the great truth that all men will be rewarded or punished according to their deeds, to their conformity to the laws of Christ, is set forth in a kind of scenical representation borrowed from the style of Oriental judicature. In such a passage a strict, metaphysical use of language is not to be expected, but the reverse. But it will be asked, Would our Saviour have used figurative or hyperbolical language on so important a subject? I answer, that highly figurative or hyperbolical language may almost be styled the common dialect of Orientals. Compare John iii. 26, "Behold, the same baptizeth, and *all* men come to him"; and verse 32, "And what he hath seen and heard he testifieth, and *no* man receiveth his testimony." Was it not hyperbolical language when our Saviour told the Pharisees that they made their proselytes *twofold* more the children of hell than themselves; when he threatened that *all* the righteous blood from the

time of Abel should be visited on that generation; when he said that the sin against the Holy Ghost should *never* be forgiven *in this world*, or in that which is to come? And was it not hyperbolical language, we would ask the advocate of endless torments, when he said, "I, if I be lifted up, shall draw *all* men unto me"? Of this hyperbolical use of language there is a striking instance in Psalm xxi. 4, "He asked life of thee, and thou gavest it him, even length of days *for ever and ever*." In our own language a similar usage prevails. Thus we hear of the *eternal* disputes about the slavery question, of *perpetual* trouble, *endless* vexation, *everlasting* disquiet. We do not say that any of these expressions are exactly parallel with those of our Saviour in the verse before us; but they show that his language may have been used in a hyperbolical, or, at least, in a loose, popular sense, unless there be some decisive consideration which leads to an opposite conclusion.

3. It is important to be observed, that the great design, the subject-matter, of the passage in which the term under consideration is contained, was not the settlement of any question respecting the duration of future punishment. The design of the passage was to exhibit the hateful nature of sin, the awful consequences which attend it, and the exclusion of all sin and misery from the kingdom of Christ in its consummation. If the question had been expressly proposed to Jesus, how long the punishment of the wicked would endure, and he had intended to answer that it would be strictly endless, we admit that *aléwios*,* or rather the corresponding Syro-chaldaic term, would in all probability have been used. But it cannot be pretended that such a question had been raised. Our Saviour was answering no doctrinal question, and laying down no dogma or principle, essential to be believed, concerning the duration of the punishment of every individual. He did not undertake to decide the point which is now in dispute in reference to the duration of punishment. His evident design was to impress upon his hearers the great truth, that, when his kingdom should be completely established, the retributions of sin would

* It is doubtful whether *ἀίδιος*, or *ἀένιος*, is a stronger expression. The former occurs in the New Testament only twice, Rom. i. 20 and Jude 6, the latter a few times in the Septuagint.

be terrible in their nature, and lasting in their duration. It was not necessary for this purpose, that the terms which he employed should be understood in a strict or philosophical sense, and as laying down an absolute dogma in regard to the duration of the punishment of individual sinners. If our Saviour had been asked, whether it was not possible that some youth, who was cut down before he had heard his voice, might have an opportunity of faith and repentance in the future life, would he not have answered, Him that cometh to me, at whatever time, and from whatever place, I will by no means cast out? Or, if he had been asked whether punishment were strictly endless, would he not at least have answered, It is endless only for those who persevere for ever in wickedness, who resist for ever that Divine grace which never will be withdrawn; but so long as sin exists misery must exist with it?*

If we have been correct in our statements, there is no ground in the word *aiōnios*, in itself considered, or in the general character of the passage in which it occurs, in favor of giving it its strict and metaphysical rather than its looser signification. But there is one consideration which favors a different conclusion, namely, the antithesis of *everlasting* punishment to *everlasting* life. In the phrase *everlasting life*, here and elsewhere, it is said, the term must be used in its most unrestricted sense. To this we answer, that the word must undoubtedly be used in the same general signification in both clauses of the verse. But in view of what has been said of the manner in which the different meanings of the original term run into each other, of the popular character of the language, and of the general design and highly figurative character of the whole passage, we do not think it necessary to construe it so strictly when applied to the subject of punishment, which must be according to one's deeds, as when applied to the blessed life, which is not the re-

* This hypothetical doctrine of endless punishment is maintained by Nitzsch, in his *System der Christlichen Lehre*, which is the most popular work on systematic theology in Germany, and is generally regarded as orthodox. See page 416, sixth edition. The English translation of this work is the worst specimen of translation from the German which we have ever seen. There is not a page in which some misrepresentation of the meaning of the author does not occur. The above-mentioned view was also maintained by Schott, in his *Epitome Theologiae*, p. 131, and, in the last century, by Doederlein, in his *Instit. Theol.*, Vol. II. p. 188.

ward of merit, but the gift of God to those who have faith and righteousness. And why should we suppose the word to be used in a strict metaphysical sense in either clause of the verse? If the promise of a life of blessedness of long, indefinite duration is given to the Christian, can he not trust the grace of the Everlasting Father, that he will not annihilate a holy and happy being? Suppose that we should construe Matthew xii. 28 as strictly as some construe the verse under consideration, would it not follow, that all sins *except* the sin against the Holy Ghost *might* be forgiven in the world to come, as well as in this world? In fact, this verse was so understood by no less a saint than Augustine.*

4. That the verse under consideration may be understood in such a sense as not to exclude the opportunity of faith and repentance in the future world, is favored by the character of God as revealed and manifested in Christ, and by the mild and merciful character of Christ himself, who knows how to have compassion on our infirmities. This last consideration certainly belongs to the province of interpretation. All writers on hermeneutics lay it down as a principle, that language is to be interpreted in harmony with the known character and sentiments of the speaker or writer. Even in the writings of Paul, who is very strong in denouncing punishment against the wicked, there are passages in which he speaks of the purposes of God, and of the riches of his grace, in such a manner as to make it difficult to believe that he contemplated the strictly eternal punishment of all who die in sin. We refer to the manner in which he speaks of the salvation of all Israel in Romans xi, and the putting down of all enemies to the kingdom of Christ in 1 Corinthians xv. 25-28. We cannot, indeed, find an express declaration in the Scriptures of the final salvation of all men. Enemies may be put under one's feet by confinement in a place of punishment, as well as by being converted into friends. But the spirit of those passages, which makes so much to depend on

* He says, in a passage which we translate literally, "as in the resurrection of the dead there will be some, who, after the punishment which the spirits of the dead suffer, will receive mercy, so that they will not be cast into everlasting fire. For it could not with truth be said of some, that their sins would not be forgiven in this world, or in that which is to come, unless there were others who would be forgiven in the world to come, though not in this world." — *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. XXI. Cap. XXIV. § 2.

means which the wisdom and mercy of God have, as it were, in reserve, is not very favorable to the doctrine of the endless misery of all who are leaving the world with a sinful character, or who have left it since the creation of man. The thought of Paul logically carried out leads to a very different conclusion, and awakens the most cheering hopes.*

In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus we have a glimpse of the change of disposition which may be effected by a change of circumstances. The rich man, who was so hard-hearted, while he lived, as to refuse to the poor beggar the crumbs which fell from his table, is represented as turning his eyes on his brethren whom he had left on earth, and longing to warn them of the consequences of sin. It seems as if his punishment had begun to work a change in his disposition; just as the prodigal son came to himself, when he was reduced to the necessity of feeding on the husks which the swine did eat. We know that the instruction from this part of the parable is only incidental, and formed not its express design. But still it was suggested by Christ in view of what he knew of the effect of punishment on the human heart.

But the most direct testimony from the New Testament for the possible recovery from sin and punishment in the future world, is to be found in the First Epistle of Peter. There we read expressly, ch. iii. 18, 19, that our Saviour after his death went and preached to the spirits in prison, who had been disobedient while they

* The impartial and sharp-sighted De Wette finds still more actually expressed in 1 Corinthians xv. 25-28 than we can. He says in his Commentary *ad loc.*: "The idea of the restoration of all things is here undeniable. For if at this time there were any in a state of damnation, in whom the influence of God was felt in punishment and not in love, he would not be all in all. Also after the destruction of Satan and death, verses 24-26, damnation is no longer conceivable." Schleiermacher, after a logical discussion of the subject, says: "There are great difficulties in supposing that the final result of redemption will be such, that only some will be partakers, while others, and indeed the greater part, according to the common representation, of the whole human race, will be consigned to endless misery. We cannot receive this view without the most decisive testimony that such a result was foreseen by Christ himself. But this testimony we by no means have. With at least equal justice may we maintain the milder view, of which there are some traces in Scripture, (see 1 Corinthians xv. 26, 55,) that through the influence of the Christian redemption there will at some future time be a general restoration of all human souls." — *Christliche Glaube*, Band II. p. 506.

lived on earth; and again, ch. iv. 6, that the *glad tidings*, *εὐαγγελισθῇ*, were preached to the dead, the disobedient dead. We are aware of the extremely forced and arbitrary interpretations which have been put on these verses in modern times, partly caused by an inordinate dread of Papal superstition, and partly by objections from reason against the descent of Christ into the regions of the dead. But the great body of interpreters, of the Protestant as well as the Catholic Church, and the great body of Christians from the earliest times, have understood these verses in their obvious meaning, as asserting that Christ after his death did preach to the dead, the disobedient dead. There has also been a difference of opinion in regard to the substance of the message of Christ to the dead. But we are wholly unable to imagine how he could have announced glad tidings to them, unless he had proclaimed to them the opportunity of release from their prison through faith and repentance.* The Apostle Peter, therefore, who had a good opportunity of understanding the mind of our Lord, did not understand any denunciations of punishment, which he had heard from him, as inconsistent with an opportunity for faith, repentance, and restoration to the Divine favor in the world beyond the grave.

5. We regard it as no objection to our views, but rather a confirmation of them, that the principle on which they are founded has been held by the great majority of the Christian Church for ages. We are always glad to have a point of doctrinal contact and fellowship with Christians whose religious faith is in many respects different from our own. We know the superstitious and mercenary practices which have been connected with the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory. But so far as this article of the Catholic faith refuses to make the mere circumstance of death an insuperable bar to moral progress, and holds out the hope of forgiveness and the possibility of reformation and purification to those who enter the future world manifestly susceptible of reformation, it is an honor to the Church which makes it a part of her creed.

* Justin Martyr accuses the Jews of having abstracted a passage from Jeremiah, which affirms that the Lord "remembered his dead, which slept in the dust of the earth, and descended to them, that he might preach unto them his salvation." — *Dialogue with Trypho*, § 72.

Her honor would be greater, if she would extend her charity beyond the limits of her own communion. It is not, however, by making the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory the subject of ridicule, but by extracting from it what is true and good and consoling to weak and afflicted humanity, while we reject the errors associated with it, that we may hope to keep men from subjection to the Roman hierarchy.

In view now of all the considerations which have been, and of many other considerations which might be, mentioned, we cannot help thinking that the passage which we have examined, and similar passages, may be understood in a sense consistent with the possibility and probability of faith, regeneration, and forgiveness in the future world. We do not pretend that we can by exegetical considerations place the precise meaning of Christ's language beyond doubt in our own mind, or in the minds of others. But on the whole we have faith that the plan of the Divine government relating to the future as well as the present world is in accordance with what is beautifully intimated by the Prophet Isaiah (xxviii. 28, 29): —

“Bread-corn is thrashed;
Yet doth not the husbandman thrash it without limit;
He driveth over it the wheels of the wain,
And the horses, yet doth he not bruise it into pieces.
This also proceedeth from the Lord of hosts;
He is wonderful in counsel,
Excellent in wisdom.”

G. R. N.

ART. VII. — AN ORTHODOX VIEW OF THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST.*

WE have been greatly interested in the perusal of an Article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, by the Rev. Dr. Stearns, minister of a Trinitarian Congregational church in Cambridge, on “The Temptation in the Wilderness.” Our interest was not engaged by any novel view set forth in that paper, but by the striking testimony which it

* *Bibliotheca Sacra and American Biblical Repository*, for January, 1854. Art. VIII. *The Temptation in the Wilderness*. By WILLIAM A. STEARNS, D.D.

affords to an increasing willingness, on the part of so-called Orthodox interpreters, to meet some of the suggestions presented by the text of Scripture that have often been kept out of sight, and by the accordance of a portion of Dr. Stearns's explanation with that which our brethren have often been assailed for advancing. His paper is written with admirable clearness and simplicity of style, without any parade of learning.

Our readers are all aware that the narrative of the Saviour's temptation is one of those passages of the Bible which warrant the reception of one great canon of criticism, — that we must avail ourselves of the relief afforded by the figurative style of representation often adopted in it, if we would avoid downright absurdities and monstrous conclusions. True, our opponents have rung the changes upon the charge alleged against us, of explaining away the statements of Scripture by metaphors and the license of language; but they do not seem to be aware that they avail themselves of that privilege as much, or even more, than we do, only that it suits them to explain differently what all of us have to explain in some way. But if the principle be allowed, that the strict letter of Scripture may be departed from, sound judgment is made the arbiter in each case.

There was a favorite theory entertained among the old divines, that the insane, the epileptic, and the dumb, whom the Saviour relieved of their miseries, and who are described as "*possessed*" persons, were actually victims into whose bodies infernal spirits had been allowed to enter for the purpose of being ejected by Christ, in order that his divine power over devils might be visibly manifested, while he was upon the earth. The narrative of the temptation of Christ was also generally taken in the strictness of the letter. We have now before us a venerable copy of the English Book of Common Prayer, which is hard on to two hundred years old, and which bears the tokens of having been reverently valued by former owners. It is profusely illustrated by quaint engravings of Scripture scenes and characters, and an effigy of James II. makes its frontispiece. Among these devices is a complete pictorial representation of *The Temptation*. First, the Saviour is pictured, as he entered the wilderness for his trial. He is seated by the

roots of a large tree, with a *glory* around his head, while three little quadrupeds, of a most questionable physiognomy, though they may be designed for hares and other field creatures, are playing by his feet. Then we have before us two figures, one of the Saviour still with the raying glory, the other of the Arch-tempter, whose form is covered with a long robe, while his horns and hoofs, and two stones which he is proffering to Jesus, leave nothing to be imagined which the skill of the engraver could supply. Next, the Saviour is seen standing upon the topmost height of the temple, from which he appears to have just pushed off the Adversary, who, happily for himself, though unhappily for us, if he would otherwise have perished by the fall, is supplied with a good pair of wings. In the third temptation, the two figures are again seen standing upon the table summit of a mountain, while Satan, looking like an erect bear with long ears, is pointing out the prospect to the holy being whom he sought to beguile. Finally, the Saviour, no longer haunted by that foul shape, is pictured as seated at a table, while four kneeling angels are proffering him the viands with which it is spread.

The question of an intelligent child, on viewing these engravings, would doubtless be, whether the hideous and hateful form and presence of the Tempter would not be likely so to disgust the holy eye that was looking upon him, as to defeat the very object of his coming. Most probably this would have been the case. The engraver ought at least to have availed himself of the Scripture assertion, that "Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light," and so have given him an outward seeming which would have helped his alluring speeches to one on whom all his arts were needed. At any rate, if the child does not ask the question just stated, we do : and we apprehend that Dr. Stearns also has asked it of himself. He alludes to what some regard as the absurd and shocking suppositions, that Christ was led about from place to place by Satan in bodily form, and followed that diabolical guidance, or was carried through the air by the Tempter, and he asks the very pertinent but most *unorthodox* question, "What reason is there for supposing a bodily presence?" We might answer the writer, that there is the same reason for supposing the

bodily presence of such a tempter, as there is for accepting the doctrine of his actual personal existence; namely, the positive assertion of Scripture, when taken *in the letter*. In that personal existence Dr. Stearns believes, but in that visible bodily presence he does not believe, and we are at a loss to discern any good reason for this discrimination in the exercise of his faith. Does not this instance illustrate the fact, that it is not Unitarian critics alone who avail themselves of a recourse to the license of figurative language, to meet some of the verbal difficulties of Scripture? The charge has been reiterated against us, that we explain away what we do not choose to receive. But where all classes of interpreters do this under the cover of figurative language, it would seem as if the critical canon were established, while the only question left open is as to its right application in any particular case. Now there are no more positive words used in the Bible, expressive of the actual personal existence of Satan, than are used to signify his actual, visible, bodily appearance to the Saviour. It is said that the Devil "came to Jesus"; that "he *said*" several distinct things to him; that "he *taketh* him up into the holy city, and *setteth* him on a pinnacle of the temple"; that "he *taketh* him up into" a mountain, "and *showeth* him all the kingdoms of the world," &c., and made him a very positive offer on a condition; and, finally, it is said that he "*leaveth*" Jesus "for a season." But how is it that all these verbs of speech, action, and motion lose their literal signification in this instance, and become merely figurative, while the little verb of *existence*, which states in some of its tenses the *personality* of a spirit of wickedness, must be religiously held to for the letter of what it asserts? Let the excellent divine whose views we are commenting upon reply.

Again, speaking of *the nature of the Saviour's fasting*, Dr. Stearns says: "The fast of forty days may have been more or less rigid. Fasting implies sometimes partial, and sometimes total abstinence. When Luke says, that 'in those days he did eat nothing,' he may mean that he had no regular supplies, that he subsisted only on the roots and wild fruits which he found in the desert." We accord in the supposition. But by what rule of criticism does Dr. Stearns define *nothing* as

meaning "roots and wild fruits"? There is a rule, we know, to justify him, but we submit that he applies that rule arbitrarily in his own case, and denies the privilege of it to others.

"The Spirit of God," says our writer, "led the Son of God into temptation," as it was "a part of God's plan that his Son should come into conflict with the Prince of evil, and get the mastery of him." As to the question, how a perfectly holy being could possibly be tempted, Dr. Stearns argues, "We have only to remember that our Saviour, though divine, was perfectly human." We do indeed *remember* that this assertion has been often made; but to us it cannot convey any intelligible idea, or be any thing short of a downright absurdity and impossibility. Jesus is presented to us as *one* being, with a nature and with endowments bestowed upon him by the God whom he called "his Father and our Father, his God and our God." Trinitarians affirm, that besides this nature he had another, as one of the Trinity in the Godhead, and that he interchanged from hour to hour, and in the course of one strain of teaching, these two characters of his, — not informing his hearers when he made the transition, and thus introducing inextricable confusion into all our conceptions of him. This alleged duplication of natures and characters may find a parallel in some points in supposing a case thus. There are business men around us who pursue some of their enterprises in their individual capacity, on private capital, taking their own risks, meeting their private losses, and enjoying their private gains, — while at the same time such men may be partners in a firm of three persons, in another branch of business, in which they have embarked another portion of their capital, subject to other contingencies. A man may certainly have such private business as an individual, and such partnership business, as a member of a firm: there is no doubt about that. But suppose we were to say, that what such a man gains or loses as a member of a firm is no loss or gain to him as an individual; — or further, suppose we say that such a man is shrewd, or sharp, or liberal, or honest, as one of three, but reckless or dishonest as a business man by himself. Should we not introduce a strange confusion into the elements of his individuality? Such confusion there

appears to us to be in asserting that Jesus as a human being could be ignorant of what he knew as one of the Trinity, or could be subjected to temptation in one capacity and not in the other.

Trinitarians profess to find relief from this perplexity by calling it *a mystery*. It is indeed a mystery, or rather a mystification, but it is one wholly of their own contriving. Peter's direct assertion concerning Jesus, that he was "a man approved of God by signs and wonders which God did through him," — that is, that he was a being in human form miraculously endowed by the Almighty, — covers and explains satisfactorily every line and word that refers to Jesus, from the beginning to the end of the Bible.

Then as to the personal existence of a Devil Dr. Stearns says, "This *individual*, a mighty, mysterious, fallen intelligence, not, however, omniscient nor omnipotent, the head of a great organized opposition to God, the Arch-foe of man and the Prince of evil, is *the agent* by whom Jesus is tempted." To the suggestion, that some have regarded the narrative as "representing a conflict on the part of Christ with impersonal evil," the writer replies, "There is hardly more reason for supposing that what is here called the Devil is impersonal, than to suppose that what is here called Jesus is impersonal. The principle of interpretation which would remove the evil agent, as an agent, from the record, would remove our Saviour himself from the record, as an agent." It is strange that such a cultivated mind should mystify its own clear conceptions and turn upon its own assertions. May we not say to Dr. Stearns, in rigid conformity with what we have just quoted from him, that the same process which rids the scene from the *bodily presence* of the Devil, rids it also of the bodily presence of Jesus? By what an amazing inconsistency does the critic deny that *bodily presence*, and yet affirm a *personal presence*!

Of course, though without the slightest shadow of reason, (considering his own mode of dealing with the letter of the narrative,) Dr. Stearns rejects Farmer's explanation of the account, as exhibiting the conflict of the Saviour in retirement, at the opening of his ministry, with the three leading temptations which would address him in its course. He says, "On exegetical grounds, we can

no more explain away the reality of the Temptation, than we can explain away the reality of the Saviour's baptism, his agony in the garden, or even his crucifixion." True. But what constituted that *reality* of the temptation? It was just as *real* in Farmer's view of it as in that of Dr. Stearns.

"The Prince of evil," he says, "is a spirit," and he came as a spirit to Christ, concealing his true character because his hope of success depended on such concealment. What follows partakes of the confusion of which we have already made mention.

"But supposing only a spiritual presence [of the Devil], it is said the Saviour must have known, at once, both the Tempter and his designs, and have refused all converse with him. But this proceeds on the supposition that Jesus, as a man, knew all things, a sentiment which the Scripture expressly contradicts. That he was Divine as well as human, and that, when he called his Divine nature into exercise, he was omniscient by the power of it, no orthodox Christian will deny. But that he was also human, and that, as such, his faculties were subject to human limitations, every reader of the New Testament confesses." The writer affirms, in proof of this astonishing statement, that Jesus was at the crucifixion "bereft for a time of all consciousness of God's presence." This construction is put upon the repetition by the Saviour of the first words of a Psalm which goes on to express the sublimest trust in God, and, instead of uttering fixed despair, assures the Saviour's own confidence that his Father would have answered his prayer had he asked for "twelve legions of angels."

"The suggestions of the Tempter" are explained in the same way by Dr. Stearns as by Farmer, allowing for the idea of the former that Satan was spiritually, though not bodily or visibly, present. The temptation to supply his hunger by the use of his miraculous powers was at once repelled. Dr. Stearns supposes that the Saviour then went from the desert to Jerusalem, and actually mounted a pinnacle of the temple, while he was tempted to make a marvellous display of his power by leaping down unharmed. This concession, again, is made for the sake of an adherence to the strict letter of the narrative. But even here the writer fails to honor the

letter. For it is not said that Jesus *went* to Jerusalem and *mounted* a pinnacle, but that Satan *took* him to the city and *set* him on that airy height. More remarkable still is the writer's attempt to honor the very letter in explaining the assertion, that from a high mountain Satan showed Jesus all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, in a moment of time. He thinks that Jesus actually ascended such a mountain, and "had an instantaneous view of the leading kingdoms of the earth." It is easy to understand this temptation as a mental operation. But if Dr. Stearns really knows of any mountain which admits of a prospect any thing like what he describes, we have no doubt some of our panorama painters would be glad to avail themselves of it. We should deem a position on the moon rather more eligible than any position on this curved earth for such a view.

Our attention and thought have been attracted to the essay which we have been examining, because we always read with interest the productions of the respected author, and because the pages which we have reviewed represent the method of dealing with the text of Scripture that still insists upon their literal interpretation in theory, but departs from it in practice. Dr. Stearns thinks that the actual personal existence of a Devil is one of the most positive doctrines in the New Testament. But there is not a single passage in Scripture which may not be relieved of that inference as easily as the essay before us rids the temptation of Jesus of the visible presence of the tempter. Besides, there are many references to such an agency, which positively require us to regard the words *Devil* and *Satan* as simply personifications of evil. What did the Saviour mean when he said, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven"? To say nothing of the implication that Satan, if in heaven, was out of his place, does the passage assert a literal sight of his descent? But if it be answered that the vision is figurative, why may we not say the same of the object of the vision, and render the passage, "I saw the power of wickedness falling from its high place, and yielding to the might of holiness and truth"? When Jesus says to the Pharisees, "Ye are of your father, the Devil," does he really imply that they were the chil-

dren of that Evil One? If he did, they certainly might have quoted one of the commandments, — "Honor thy father," — as a reason for their allegiance to the Devil. The Saviour distinctly addresses Peter as Satan; and again, the Saviour tells Peter that Satan is aiming to seize him that he may sift him as wheat; and once more, the same Peter tells us that "the Devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about," &c. We submit that even the last three passages of Scripture, to say nothing of others which might be quoted, can be brought into one consistent view only by a principle of interpretation that will recognize Satan as the personification of evil or wickedness.

G. E. E.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Christ in History; or the Central Power among Men. By ROBERT TURNBULL, D.D. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 540.

DR. TURNBULL has brought together, within a small compass and with much freshness and vigor of style, the best results of ancient and modern thought upon his important theme. He modestly says, that, "though the labor of years, it is not offered as any thing approaching a complete or scientific view of the subject, but rather as a slight contribution or preparation for such a view"; and his work will be found of great service in arousing the attention and guiding the inquiries of the student who craves something better than the superficial theories of atheistical, pantheistical, or deistical historians. The manifestation of God in Christ is indeed the crowning fact in the history of the world, and, in a very high and large sense, all that was done and suffered by man before the Saviour's coming may be regarded as a prophecy of that Gospel which all subsequent history fulfils. It is exceedingly important that our ripening scholars should be led into such trains of thought and observation as are developed in this interesting work. We have noticed two or three errors, which it may be well to specify, although we are not sure that they have not already caught the author's eye. On the twenty-ninth and thirtieth pages, Kant is represented as

showing in his "Kritik of the Pure Reason," that man "has affinities and relations with infinite perfection and immortal existence," and the title just given is Germanized in a parenthesis as "*Der Praktischen Vernunft*." Now, Kant did nothing of the kind in his "Kritik of the Pure Reason," but did attempt something of the sort in a supplementary treatise upon the Practical Reason, which Dr. Turnbull probably had in mind, for "*Der Praktischen Vernunft*" means "Of the Practical Reason." Again, Mr. Theodore Parker is represented as a disciple of Strauss, and as having reproduced his views for the benefit of American readers. Now, if we are not in error, Mr. Parker has had no direct connection with Strauss, save in attempting, as once in our own pages, to discredit his theory. Both these writers reject the Gospels as authentic histories, but they are not at all agreed as to the way in which their origin is to be explained. Indeed, Mr. Parker does not insist, if we have understood him, upon any particular theory. Moreover, though this is not directly to the point, Strauss is a Pantheist, according to Dr. Turnbull, whose testimony is, we believe, correct, whilst Mr. Parker is a Deist, or Theist, as he prefers to be called, and a very admirable one too, besides believing most heartily in a conscious immortality of the human soul, to say nothing of the immortality, unconscious, we presume, of sparrows and the rest of the animal creation. It is exceedingly important to keep the different shades of opinion distinct, and not float in the same boat all those who happen to agree in some one important point.

A Compendium of the Theological and Spiritual Writings of EMANUEL SWEDENBORG: being a Systematic and Orderly Epitome of all his Religious Works; selected from more than Thirty Volumes, etc., etc., prefaced by a full Life of the Author; with a brief View of all his Works on Science, Philosophy, and Theology. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1853. 8vo. pp. 674.

A COMPENDIUM, but formidable at that, for the octavo does not lack much of being a quarto, and the book is arranged in double columns, which are very closely printed. Still, a compilation that would do justice to a writer so voluminous at once and various as Swedenborg could not be brought within less compass. We have from time to time, as opportunities have offered, endeavored to form and express a fair estimate of the claims, natural and supernatural, of the great Swedish philosopher and theologian, and although we have not been persuaded to enroll ourselves amongst his disciples, we have never felt the

slightest temptation to treat his opinions with neglect or with lightness. Indeed, we are satisfied that the theology of Swedenborg was an immense advance upon the religious sentiments which were entertained by the majority of his contemporaries. The "Compendium" seems to us admirably adapted to aid the student of divinity and the general scholar in gaining what no one who aspires to be an educated man can dispense with, an acquaintance with the life and thoughts of this very remarkable man. Whatever may be our sentence upon his peculiar claims, he was at least gifted with a singular moral and spiritual insight, and, hard and dry as his style often is, no one can read his works without pleasure as well as profit. The introduction to the Compendium contains a vast deal of reverent and fresh thought, and will be of service to the young student. On the whole, as it is hardly possible for many persons to own, and utterly impossible for most persons to read, even so much of the writings of Swedenborg as has been given to the public, and as a portion of his writings must and should be read, the compiler of this book seems to us to have done a good work.

The Complete Poetical Works of THOMAS CAMPBELL; with an original Biography and Notes. Edited by EPES SARGENT. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 479.

THE chief feature in this beautiful edition of Campbell's poems is the very full and excellent Life of the poet by Mr. Sargent. It is written in a clear and graceful style, and embodies in a brief space all those facts in relation to the poet's personal experience which the general reader would wish to know. As an interesting and well-digested memoir, it is much superior to Dr. Beattie's ponderous volumes, from which most of the materials have been drawn. In addition to this source, however, Mr. Sargent has also made use of the biographical notices by Mr. Redding, for some years associated with Campbell in the editorial charge of the New Monthly Magazine, and of some other materials. The notes which he has appended to the volume are also valuable as elucidating any obscurities in the poems, and are a welcome addition. But we regret that it did not fall within his purpose to present a general estimate of Campbell's poetical powers and comparative position amongst his contemporaries. Nor do we find any direct criticism on either of his productions. But these are omissions which we can readily forgive, for the merit of the essay in other respects.

Campbell has always been a popular poet; and it does not seem probable that his popularity is likely to be materially

diminished. No poet of the present century has made a more brilliant commencement of his career than was seen in the publication of "The Pleasures of Hope." And the position which this remarkable piece gave to its author, was strengthened and confirmed by the appearance of "Gertrude of Wyoming." If his other long poems add nothing to his reputation, his fame was already secure. As a lyric poet he ranks among the first that his country has ever produced. His lyrics have a fire and brilliancy, and his whole verse an exquisite polish, which must always cause his poems to be read with satisfaction. In the edition before us, about fifty poems are included which have not heretofore been comprised in any edition. Many of them are of great beauty, and all will be read with pleasure by his admirers.

The Breughel Brothers, from the German of the BARON VON STERNBERG. By G. HENRY LODGE. Designs by Billings. Engravings by Baker, Smith, & Andrew. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1854. Sq. 8vo. pp. 187.

The *Kunstnovelle* or *Kunstroman* (Art-novel) is a species of literary composition almost peculiar to Germany. At least it has been more extensively and more successfully cultivated there than in any other country. Wagner's "Travelling Painter," Heinse's "Ardinghello," Tieck's "Heart Outpourings of a Cloister Brother," his "Sternbald's Wanderings," and Fr. Schlegel's "Lucinde," are among the best-known specimens of this style of fiction. Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister" may also be termed an Art-novel, but in a higher sense and with a higher aim than those we have mentioned, terminating as it does with the art of all arts, — the art of life.

The Art-novel may have for its object criticisms on schools and works of art, or art-philosophy, or portraiture of artist-characters and artist-life. It is the last of these which characterizes "The Breughel Brothers." Every one has heard of the two Breughels, (sons of old Peter Breughel, distinguished by their contemporaries as "Hell Breughel" and "Velvet Breughel,") who give the name to this work. It is a series of pictures, in which the principal figures are Flemish painters, boldly drawn and warmly colored, somewhat in the tone of Rubens, but with far more tenderness than ever belonged to the great master of Antwerp.

We are unacquainted with the German of Von Sternberg, but we doubt not that the translation by Dr. Lodge is as faithful in the rendering as it is finished in its diction. It is translated much, rather than little, but we think not overmuch.

The translator of Winckelmann is too well known, and too sincerely honored by all who have bestowed attention on his labors, to need any commendation from us. That translation is a work which, both in the motive and the manner, is as creditable to American authorship, as it is serviceable to American Art. Next to the practical artist, he serves the cause of Art most effectually who helps to diffuse the knowledge of its principles, and thus to promote sound judgment on the subject.

We must express our gratification with the very superior manner in which the mechanical execution of this volume has been accomplished, under the superintendence of Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co., the publishers.

Essays on Philosophical Writers, and other Men of Letters.

By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1854. In Two Volumes. 16mo. pp. 292, 291.

Letters to a Young Man, and other Papers. By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1854. 16mo. pp. 300.

THREE more volumes of De Quincey's writings will find a most hearty welcome from those readers who have long been familiar with the productions of his facile and elaborate scholarship, or who have made their first acquaintance with him through the beautiful edition of his collected works, for which we are indebted to Mr. Fields. The series already embraces fifteen volumes, and as each of them has appeared we have not failed to make mention of their attractive contents. Upon a most interesting page in one of these new volumes (*Letters to a Young Man, &c.*, page 9), the author gives us some particulars concerning his own life of study, which explain the history of his mental acquisitions and training. We must confess that he has the faculty of bringing out his incidental knowledge in a way to confound many readers with amazement at its amount. The strength of his prejudices, too, is apparent on every page that he writes. It would not do to accept his judgment, either of men or of theories, as formed without a strong personal bias of his own, for it is evident that he is a terrible hater, and no man can do justice to any thing which he thoroughly hates unless the thing hated be sin: perhaps even that ought not to be excepted.

Sir William Hamilton, Sir James Mackintosh, Kant, Herder, Richter, and Lessing are the subjects of *Essays* which fill one of the volumes before us, while Bentley and Parr are discussed and portrayed in another. The sketches of the last two characters are all the more valuable, because the more copious biographies

of them, from which chiefly De Quincey has drawn his materials, are two of the least skilful works in that rich department of literature. We have managed to deal with Dr. Monk's solid quarto upon Bentley, by skipping or skimming two pages out of three, but after trying the same process upon Dr. Johnstone's Life of Parr, we were compelled to leave our mark midway in the volume, and to lay it aside. We cannot commend De Quincey for rigid impartiality in his judgment of either of these famous men, but he has certainly presented them to us in a most vigorous and masterly style. The sketch of the Phalaris controversy in the Essay on Bentley affords a fine specimen of a judicial statement of an issue depending upon sound scholarship and curious niceties of argument. De Quincey deals too leniently with his hero's emendations of the *Paradise Lost*. We cannot but regard it as a substantial abatement of Bentley's praise for solid wisdom, that he should have tried his hand upon that silly task. A man who is endowed with the highest discernment, and has acquired all the safeguards of true discretion, will never be the victim of such an egregious blunder as Bentley made when he — to speak plainly — made such a fool of himself.

Dr. Parr meets with hard treatment from De Quincey, and were it not for a few relenting allowances, and an occasional word of encomium, we should say that party feeling and prejudice had guided the pen of the writer.

The third volume opens with a series of five "Letters to a Young Man whose Education has been neglected." They contain many delightful revelations of the pleasures and results of a scholar's life. The assertion of the practical value of a knowledge of the Latin language is emphatically substantiated, and some fine touches of critical skill gleam all over the pages. Besides these Letters, we have in the volume Essays on Conversation, on Language, on French and English Manners, on California and the Gold Mania, on Ceylon, and on Presence of Mind.

If the reader will turn to page 38th of this volume, he will find a comparative estimate of the number of books which one may be able to read in a lifetime whose duration is measured by the Psalmist's seventy years. The facts there enumerated may suggest to some person the utility and the possibility of making a digest of all our existing literature. The first apprehension of De Quincey's estimate may overwhelm many with dismay at the thought of how small a portion of what is in print can be perused by them in their span of life. But it is probably true that one tenth part of all the books in the world contain in substance what is to be found in all of them. The difficulty now is to know which tenth part to look to.

A Defence of "The Eclipse of Faith," by its Author ; being a Rejoinder to Professor Newman's "Reply." London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. 1854. 12mo. pp. 218.

THIS "Rejoinder" we think was called for, and after a careful perusal of it we must say that it is made with candor, with ability, and with a triumphant weight of argument. We have noticed in several quarters, and in some where it was not to have been expected, a depreciatory criticism of "The Eclipse of Faith," which has involved a complete misrepresentation, not to say a caricature, of its method and its principal contents. It was with great regret that we observed a measure of this same injustice toward the book in the pages of that admirable journal, "The Prospective Review." Mr. Newman's treatment of the author is simply disgraceful to himself, however much the fault of it may be palliated by the chagrin of a writer in having his own method of argument turned against himself. One specimen will serve to set before our readers an instance of the unworthy shifts to which Mr. Newman has had recourse. "The Eclipse of Faith" had met the difficulty presented by the Old Testament in its reference of the intended sacrifice of Isaac and the Canaanitish wars to the instigation of Jehovah, — as the difficulty was urged by Professor Newman, — by specifying some dark and painful facts concerning the government of God in nature and in human experience, which facts it is as difficult for the Theist to reconcile with the attributes of God, as it is for the believer in the Bible to reconcile some of its narratives with faith in the divine authority of the book. Instead of meeting this fair parallelism to his own objection by showing that it was not a parallelism, or by relieving the Almighty of certain dark dealings in his moral government, Mr. Newman turns upon our author and charges him with advocating "an unmoral [immoral] Deity." Now our author might justly bring this charge against Mr. Newman, unless the former denies that God allowed what the Old Testament refers to his allowance ; because Mr. Newman must ascribe those Canaanitish wars either to the instigation of a devil, or to some method of God's providence ; and as he does not believe in a devil, but does believe the wars to have been unrighteous, that unrighteousness must reflect back upon the Almighty. The author of the "Rejoinder," not without some severity of language, exposes the sophistry which has so ineffectually been brought to bear against him in this plea of "an unmoral Deity."

Again, our author has been censured for his use of the method of the Socratic dialogue, by which it is implied that he frames the objections and arguments of his opponents which he

intends to answer, and puts them in a form which he can answer; thus having the privilege of pulling both the puppets in his sham trial of wits. But only a small portion of the contents of "The Eclipse of Faith" pursues this method; and as the author honestly and candidly drew from the writers whom he controverts their own statements and arguments, he offended no one of the canons of fair disputation in his use of the Socratic dialogue.

Another charge that has been brought against our author is that he had recourse to ridicule. He replies that a censure on this score comes with an ill grace from those who do not scruple to use that keen weapon on their own side. He ought, however, to have remembered, that those who avail themselves of sarcasm and ridicule against what the world holds sacred — as every impugnor of the Bible and the Christian revelation, without a single exception known to us, always has done — are most sensitive and fretful when the same instruments are turned against themselves. So long as those who argue against "book revelations" themselves write books with the aim of communicating new light and truth to the world, they can hardly complain with fairness if a Christian affirms that, since men may communicate truth to each other, God may possibly be able to communicate truth to his children.

But the most impotent and futile of all Mr. Newman's efforts are those which he has spent in the endeavor to indicate some "Moral Imperfections" in the character and teachings of Jesus Christ. Unbelievers in the Christian revelation have heretofore sheathed their hostile weapons when they have confronted the character of our Lord and Saviour. Some of the most touching and reverential tributes which he has received have come from those who have rejected his divine authority. If any such unbelievers have really felt that they have reached a standard above him from which they might venture to criticize or censure him, modesty, or something that served its purpose, has withheld their utterance. But Mr. Newman has ventured to specify faults; and what a sad exposure he makes of an ungenerous purpose, utterly defeated in its aim, and most astoundingly feeble in spite of all his ingenuity, we leave our readers to judge for themselves. The only conceivable effect which his weak and sophistical allegations can have on a candid reader will be that of exciting pity, rather than indignation, toward the writer.

Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, & Co. have in press and will speedily publish a volume containing Mr. Newman's Reply to "The Eclipse of Faith," and his chapter on the "Moral Imperfections" (!) of Jesus, as well as the contents of the volume on which we have been writing.

Archimedes and Franklin. A Lecture introductory to a Course on the Application of Science to Art, delivered before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, November 29, 1853. By ROBERT C. WINTHROP. Boston: T. R. Marvin. 1853. 8vo. pp. 47.

OUT of the flood of pamphlets which is incessantly pouring from the press, there are a few which deserve to be gathered out and emphatically commended on the score of an intrinsic and permanent value. The pamphlet before us is one of these. For adaptation to the purpose for which it was designed, for rare felicity of subject and treatment, and for having instigated an honorable and grateful enterprise, it is worthy of a choice place among the riches of literature. The noble Association before which the Lecture was delivered bears the form of Archimedes on its seal, and this leading suggested to Mr. Winthrop a theme of rich and instructive narrative followed by a most appropriate moral. He begins by rehearsing that delightful little narrative, in which Cicero describes his successful search for the grave of Archimedes, which his fellow-citizens of Syracuse had forgotten. Then follows a brilliant sketch of the philosophical and mechanical labors of that old worthy, from which the speaker passes by a very natural step to a fine commemoration of our own Franklin. It is enough to say that the suggestion so eloquently enforced by Mr. Winthrop, that Boston should accord a monumental tribute to Franklin, has been cheerfully answered to by our community, and that the enterprise is in hands whose management of it assures its success.

History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles, 1713 - 1783. By LORD MAHON. In Seven Volumes. Third Edition, revised. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1853. Vol. VI. 12mo. pp. 330, lxiii.

THIS volume of the revised edition of Lord Mahon's History, which Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co. are publishing in connection with a London house, will have an especial interest on our side of the water, because it deals with the events and characters of our own Revolutionary War. The lofty eulogium which the author pronounces upon Washington has been already referred to in our pages, as has also the issue which he raised with Dr. Sparks. Documents bearing upon this issue will be found in the Appendix. Though it is probable that Lord Mahon would from the first have withheld all reflections upon the editorial fidelity of the biographer of Washington, had he really

known the slenderness of the grounds on which he would finally be compelled to justify them, he still retains a slight remnant of censure in the revised pages. We have been interested in the perusal of his judgments and comments upon matters on which, of course, we must look with eyes different from his own. We have no intentional unfairness to lay to his charge. On the contrary, we think he must have occasionally set aside a prejudice, and found in the dictates of charity an honorable explanation of what would have easily admitted of a bad construction. His History seems to be estimated more highly here than in England.

Chronicles selected from the Originals of Cartaphilus, the Wandering Jew. Embracing a Period of nearly Nineteen Centuries. Now first revealed to, and edited by, DAVID HOFFMAN, Hon. J. U. D. of Göttingen. [In two series, each of three volumes.] Series the First. London: Thomas Bosworth. 1853. 8vo. pp. 687, 606.

OFTEN as the legend of the Wandering Jew has been wrought over in literature, and various as have been the forms into which it has been cast, it has found a somewhat novel treatment in these bulky volumes, which, it seems, embrace but a third part of the proposed work. Doubtless, one who takes the books in hand will have first of all to overcome a natural consternation at their size and solidity. But when it is discovered that they deal with authentic history, and use the ubiquitous presence and the continuous biography of the legendary wanderer as a thread on which to hang the facts scattered through many narratives, a reader will conclude to accept their contents for themselves, and to find an impulse to attention in some charm wrought by the element of fiction. A slight but sufficiently definite sketch of the original legend, and of some of its variations, introduces the work, and the opening of the narrative affords an opportunity for rehearsing the earthly life and ministry of Christ under a somewhat peculiar form. The method then pursued by the author allows him a large variety of shapes and materials by which to elaborate from the classics, and other ancient lore, and from a restoration of past scenes and characters, a continuous story full of instruction elevated by piety.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Beecher's Conflict of Ages. — In our extended examination of this remarkable and most honest production of a noble-minded man, we signified that we should watch with great interest the appearance of such reviews of it as should deal with it in a spirit conformed to its own candor of argument. Some very able criticisms upon it have already appeared in the papers and other journals of some of the religious denominations. The Universalist Quarterly gives us a very brilliant and well-reasoned article upon it, while the Christian Review, a Baptist Quarterly, which does honor to the denomination it represents, devotes some well-filled pages to a generous and skilful dealing with a portion of Dr. Beecher's positions, and the Freewill Baptist Quarterly meets the author's theory with a very vigorous statement of the strength and the weakness of its various elements. Dr. Beecher himself was till recently one of the editors of the Congregationalist, a weekly religious newspaper of this city, which divides with the Puritan Recorder the patronage of the two sections of the Trinitarian Congregationalists. In consequence of an influence alleged by Dr. Beecher to have been exerted by the editor of the Puritan Recorder against the Congregationalist, as if the latter paper could be made to suffer from the heresies of one of its editors, Dr. Beecher resigned that office. He published a card in which he assigns this reason for his resignation, and accuses the Recorder of unfair dealing with him. Though we read with care some editorial criticisms in the Recorder upon Dr. Beecher's book, sharply written and evasive of the real issue, we failed to notice the particular *animus* of those criticisms which Dr. Beecher charges upon them. Those criticisms seemed to us conformed in spirit to much of the special pleading of the sect from which they come, and to be addressed rather to the perverted and jaundiced judgment which Calvinism produces, than to the moral instincts with which our Creator has endowed us. The Congregationalist, and that noble paper, the New York Independent, which are both representatives of the freer and progressive spirit at work in the communion served by them, have given fair, though brief, statements of Dr. Beecher's theory, and have most courteously repudiated it. The Bibliotheca Sacra, which is a credit to the theological scholarship of our country, makes a concise but rather ineffective issue with Dr. Beecher, on two or three subsidiary points, in a critical notice, and promises an article upon the book.

Of course it must be expected that the lapse of some considerable length of time be allowed before the full effects of the startling challenge which Dr. Beecher has thrown out to his own brethren will be manifested. Such a work as his acts slowly, and in a great measure secretly, through the channels which feed the minds of men. Most of the critics who have pronounced upon the author and upon his labors have not failed to accord to him the high tribute of conscientious, devout, and scholarly efforts in dealing with his great theme. There have not been wanting some contemptuous and trifling judgments upon

him, but for these a wise man is prepared, and to them an earnest man is indifferent.

The more we have thought upon the contents of the book called "The Conflict of Ages," and have revolved in our minds the revelations which it makes of the conflict in the mind of its author, the more serious is the importance which we attach to it. Our respectful regard for the writer and for the traits of character which he exhibits, is likewise increased by contemplating the issues which he has so boldly stated, at the evident cost of cordiality and confidence from many of his friends. The consequences of the publication and extensive circulation of the work are important in every point of view, but especially as they bear upon the popular faith in the Bible, and upon some of the prominent doctrines which controversy alleges are, or are not, to be found in it. We may assert and believe what we will concerning the external evidences by which the Bible and its divine authority are enforced upon the faith of the common multitude of its uncritical readers; but we all know that its internal evidence is the medium of its hold upon their love and confidence. The stamp and warrant of truth go with its great lessons, its tender and earnest tones, its sublime morals, its addresses to the reason and conscience, its adequate revelations of God and his attributes, the righteousness of his government, and the equity of his laws. Now Dr. Beecher assails the faith of common readers at the very point at which it is strongest, and he deals upon the Bible in the line of its internal evidence a more threatening and disastrous blow than was given by the united assaults of all the infidel writers of the eighteenth century. We make this assertion in all sincerity, and deliberately. The proof of it is easy, for it lies in a statement of the scope of Dr. Beecher's book.

Here is an honored and able minister, who for a quarter of a century has made the Bible his study, has collated its various contents, and fashioned them into a system of doctrines, which he has expounded to more than one congregation, and still proclaims as saving truth to men. He maintains in a rigid sense the inspiration of the contents of the Bible, and receives its lessons as confidently as if he read them written on the skies. He tells us that this book addresses our reason and conscience, and recognizes in us certain claims to an equitable treatment on the part of God, — which claims God himself bids us enforce, by which to try him and his government, as well as ourselves, our nature, and condition. The writer then proceeds to tell us that these fair claims of reason, conscience, and equity, which the Bible accords to us, are utterly set at naught and trampled upon by the system of doctrines which the Bible reveals. The book which contains such sentences as these: — "Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord," — "Are not my ways equal?" — "A just scale and balance are the Lord's," — "Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?" — charges upon men the guilt of sin committed before they were born, dooms them to endless misery for the consequences of that inherited guilt, and assures us, by inference, that we are living under the government of a more cruel and tyrannical Deity, than the grimmest and most hideous Paganism ever conceived of in a Moloch, or a Baal, or a Juggernaut. What then is to be the effect of an *ex cathedra* statement like this on the *internal evidence* by which the Bible retains its hold upon the faith of nine out of every ten of its common readers? While science and philosophy, and speculative and antiquarian criticism, are assailing all the external and some

of the internal credentials of the Scripture, Dr. Beecher aims a blow at its very heart of life, and finds in it a hollower code than that of Chesterfield's in morals, a more dastardly policy than that of Machiavelli, and enormities of doctrine worse than any which Voltaire or Paine practised by or taught. True, Dr. Beecher proposes an *hypothesis* not recognized, much less advanced, in the Bible, by which its contents may be supplemented, and a sublime harmony may be established between the doctrines of the Bible and the principles of holy equity. But this *hypothesis* is a figment of the human brain, though it claims to be advanced to an equality with the doctrines of revelation. Even more than this: as an *equality* with those doctrines will not express the whole and paramount importance of this hypothesis, for it is the keystone of the arch of doctrines. How can it be but that thousands of the readers of the Bible, if they be also readers of this book, will ask themselves, If the Bible needs the supplement of human fancies or theories, will it not be wiser for us to conjure out a complete religion from our own wits, than to make a mosaic creed out of Scripture and philosophy? There is a stern, outspoken positiveness of conviction in the averments made by Dr. Beecher concerning the Bible, which will find its counterpart in the judgment of multitudes of readers, — either that the Bible does not contain a revelation from God, or that it does not teach the system which Dr. Beecher finds in it. His theory will be held to be as unsubstantial as the mere mist over a battle-field, where sharp arms and deadly shot are the stern realities.

Again, as to the bearings of that book on the doctrines in controversy between Unitarians and Trinitarians, we should be led far beyond our limits if we wrote half of what is in our minds. Our feelings, however, may be inferred from a statement which we will frankly utter. We consider that book as so manifestly destined to reopen in the most effective way our whole controversy, and, in the long result, to win such a triumph for our general views of the doctrines of the Bible, that we would give our vote to a proposition that one half of the whole sum of fifty thousand dollars which the Unitarians are about to raise for the circulation of their books, should be spent in the dissemination of Dr. Beecher's volume. "The Congregationalist" newspaper, after quoting some of our suggestions as to the consternation which the book would produce among the "Orthodox," writes out the word *Pugh*, and adds a fable about a hen or a chicken. We apprehend that this assumed levity is of the same character as the *whistling* which was recommended to those who were afraid of ghosts when passing a graveyard at night. The word *Pugh*, though not easy to spell, is easily spoken. But it contains a *hard* letter which is also a *silent* one, and we will take it as significant of painful but unexpressed feeling. "The Presbyterian" newspaper uttered that word, or the word *Pshaw*, we forget which, or whether it were even a less dignified one, concerning Dr. Beecher's book. But some peoples' brains are really more substantial than their words of hasty judgment would indicate. We apprehend that we shall all of us yet come to the conclusion, that Dr. Beecher's book is a very serious one, and that neither it nor its consequences are to be dismissed with a jeer.

Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co. have added to their series of publications brought out in the best style of the art, an elegant library edition, in six octavo volumes, of Hume's "History of England, from the Inva-

sion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688." There are good reasons why such books should appear in such a form. We think that the honorable and liberal publishing firm to whose members our reading community is so largely indebted, have consulted the laws of good taste and the fitnesses of things in giving us a Boston edition of Hume in this elegant shape. Some books appropriately bear the folio form; their contents entitle them to that solid and dignified presentment. A library never has a seemly look unless it contains a range of folios. Other books, in harmony with their contents, may properly wear diminutive forms, and some have no reason to complain if they are indifferently laid upon a table, or used to keep its equilibrium by being placed under it, to make up for a lameness in one of its legs. But our approved histories demand a shapely octavo form, which shall secure them from all light and mean uses. Now that the relative value of Hume's pages is well defined, his prejudices allowed for, his range of authorities and of materials understood, and his strong biases, which both restricted his search and impaired the fairness of his interpretation of primary documents, are not denied by any one, his History is left to stand wholly on its own merits, and through them, aided by its felicities of style and the tone of its philosophy, it is sure of its place in all libraries.

The edition of the History now before us appears in a bright, clear type, with fair margins of strong, white paper, and the notes at the end of each volume embrace a rich collation of authorities, interspersed with those brilliant and often oracular sentences which are the charm of Hume's style. We hope a generous response will be made to the enterprise of the publishers, and that this edition will adorn many bookshelves and minister to a great many minds throughout our literary land.

The same publishers continue their series of British Poets, by three volumes containing the poetry of Milton, and five containing that of Dryden. We have frequently referred to this beautiful and rapidly extending series of volumes, and we wish once more to commend it to those who lack these treasures of our literature. The style of the volumes has long been familiar through Pickering's edition, in the finest finish of the English press, and the edition before us is in no respect inferior.

Besides a continuation of this series of the Poets, the same firm promise the early publication of Hume's Philosophical Writings and Essays, and an entirely new and annotated edition of Plutarch's Lives.

Under the title of "The Lost Prince," Messrs. G. P. Putnam & Co., of New York, have published a volume by the Rev. J. H. Hanson, containing a full statement of the alleged facts which tend to prove the identity of Louis the Seventeenth of France and the Rev. Eleazar Williams, an Indian missionary. The materials of the volume whose authority is undisputed have an interest apart from the main issue with which they are connected, and they make the book a very readable one. As to that main issue, we must confess that a few facts which are not stated have a bearing upon it necessary to be had in view by a reader. However the truth may be, the volume will repay its perusal.

Redfield, of New York, has published, in two volumes, "Sketches of the Irish Bar," by the Rt. Hon. Richard Lalor Sheil, M. P., with

Memoir and Notes by R. Shelton Mackenzie, D.C.L. Fun and wisdom are found in rich measure in these volumes, together with much lively matter of a personal, political, and professional character. The revolutionary relations between Ireland and England, and the elements of agitation which were kept at work by legislation against the Roman Catholics, make nearly every page more or less pugilistic, but always vigorous and lively.

The same publisher has issued, in two volumes, "**Poems, Descriptive, Dramatic, Legendary, and Contemplative**, by William Gilmore Simms, Esq." The author has established his reputation as a poet and a novelist, and is sure of an increasing fame as the circle of his readers is extended.

OBITUARY.

REV. SETH ALDEN.—The pleasant but retired parish of Lincoln has been twice visited with a remarkable bereavement. Its two successive pastors, after a ministry of like extent, pursued with great similarity of character and spirit, were removed by the same disease, in the same month, though with an interval of five years. Those who knew them intimately saw, no doubt, many points of difference; but both gave themselves heartily to this quiet field of pastoral labor, both had a subdued earnestness admirably adapted to the flock which they led by these "still waters," both preached as impressively by the life as from the pulpit, both were snatched away unwarned, and yet with such foreshadowings of death as gave to their latter ministrations an unction better than any eloquence, — a pathos more effective than any logic.

Our lately deceased brother, Seth Alden, was born in Bridgewater, May 21, 1793. He graduated at Brown University in the class of 1814, conducted the Wakefield Academy the following year, in 1816 pursued his divinity studies at Cambridge, and in the spring of 1819 declined an invitation to the ministry at Bridgewater, to receive a settlement of fifteen years' continuance over the Marlborough church in November of that year. In May, 1835, he succeeded Rev. Dr. Noyes in the Brookfield parish, and labored there with acceptance and profit for ten happy years. His next ministry, at Southborough, lasted but two years and a half. Upon his resignation of this charge, he immediately succeeded Rev. Samuel Ripley in the four years' service at Lincoln which was so beautifully closed by the hand of Death, on the second Sunday afternoon of November, in a friend's pulpit at Westborough.

It would seem, and it was the fact, that Mr. Alden had a strong attachment to country life, an early love for its simple manners, its healthy toils, its unaffected friendships, its peaceful retirements, its unostentatious trusts. He did not care to be known abroad. He loved to live for, with, and in his flock, to be cherished by them, revered by his household, beloved through his neighborhood, esteemed for his work's sake, honored, not for eloquence, but for character, and remembered by his daily walk rather than his Sunday discourse. He was not known generally amongst us: he seemed to attach little regard to what passed outside of the circle of his duty and affection.

Of one thing he could justly boast. He was a direct descendant, on both sides of the house, from the Pilgrims. "John Alden, who came from England with the first party, and who was one of the signers of the original compact in 1620," was his forefather and his prototype. He was, like our friend, "a very worthy, useful, and exemplary man," and was honored by being "an Assistant in the administration of every Governor of Plymouth for sixty-seven years." (Holmes's Annals, Vol. I.) His mother was a Carver, in the direct line from Governor Carver of Plymouth Colony, — so that, as Rev. Mr. Frost remarked in his excellent funeral discourse, "two currents of Pilgrim blood flowed in his veins."

Springing from this faithful stock, it is not strange that the prominent feature of his character was *fidelity*. No duty ever came in his way which was not conscientiously, punctually, cheerfully performed; no occasion ever waited for him, or found his talent "laid away in a napkin." His lamp was always shedding a serene and a brightening light upon his path, from its opening to its close. In his family he was gentle, yet firm, not more affectionate than wise. In his parish he was distinguished by soundness of judgment, integrity of purpose, excellent common-sense, and unhesitating fidelity. Laboring with his own hands, like St. Paul, that he might not burden a feeble society, he honored toil by his sunny spirit. Notwithstanding his frequent suffering by disease of the heart, which almost disabled him from returning home after his afternoon service a fortnight before his decease, he was uniformly cheerful; life was always bright before him; there was a silver lining to the cloud, — the regard of his friends, the love of his family, the reverence of his villagers crowning his exemplary life with peace. Not only was he looked up to by his neighbors as a sincere Christian, on occasion of his burial all work-day tasks being suspended, that the whole population might crowd within the mourning sanctuary; but he was justly a favorite with the rural congregations, — his manly figure, his dignified address, his sound common-sense, his clear conscience, his thorough honesty making his modest presence acceptable. His preaching was thoroughly liberal, yet with a Puritan solemnity, — appealing to conscience rather than to feeling, to judgment more than imagination. He did "not dogmatize where wise men doubt, nor put his own inspiration on a level with that of the Apostles," nor condemn any of true life for differing from him in doctrine; but went through his manly, consistent, practical labors with a soul as clear as a star, to shine, we doubt not, in another firmament, now that he is hidden from us here.

His death was worthy of his life, worthy of remembrance by his brethren in the ministry, worthy of being cherished as an admonition by the congregation to whom his parting words were spoken, and by that other flock whom God has twice startled by his most solemn voice. He was reading in a distinct and earnest tone the last verse of the 106th hymn of Greenwood's collection, and had just finished as appropriate a line as could have been written for his utterance, "And fit us for those realms of joy," when he fell backwards without a struggle or a groan, uttering a more impressive sermon than living lips can breathe upon the uncertainty of life and the waiting presence of death. A hymn by Montgomery, then in his hands, seems meant for his departure: —

"At noon thy labor cease!
Rest on thy sheaves, thy harvest task is done:
Come from the heat of battle, and in peace,
Soldier, go home! with thee the fight is won."

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

MAY, 1854.

ART. I.—THE POPULAR USE OF THE BIBLE.

WHEN Martin Luther, the boldest of monks, commenced his assaults upon the practices of the Roman Church, he evidently had, up to a certain point, the sympathy and countenance of Erasmus, the greatest scholar of the age. Erasmus was a man of the most shrewd and cautious nature, worldly-wise and discerning, a lover of tranquillity. He saw a considerable way before him, and yet not far enough to give him a bold confidence in simple truth. No one was more keenly sensible than he was of the tolerated iniquities of his time, and of the fact that they owed much of their power to the Church, which adopted instead of resisting them. His own pen in his own hand wrote some of the most scorching satires upon ecclesiastics, their follies and vices, and in his familiar correspondence he freely expressed opinions which would have convicted him before the Inquisition. But he was a timeserver. He dreaded above all things else popular excitements and fanaticism. His favorite fancy was, that all theological questions, and all matters of Church authority, practice, and discipline, should be debated in the scholarly conclave, with closed doors, the multitude not being parties to them.

Of course such a man would sympathize with Luther up to a certain point, and at a certain point would be sure to break with him. Erasmus took umbrage with Luther because the latter was for referring all matters of strife and controversy to the free tribunal of the people. Especially was the scholar offended because the Reformer insisted that all men, women, and children should have the privilege and the opportunity of reading the Scriptures in their own mother tongue. Luther gloried in the gigantic labor by which he accomplished that work for the Germans. But Erasmus was bitterly opposed to it. Though he himself edited from manuscripts the first published Greek text of the New Testament in print, with a new Latin translation, and wrote paraphrases of Scripture, it was all for scholars, who were to filter the Divine Word through dialectics of their own invention before the stream should reach the people. Erasmus favored versions of the Bible in dead languages. Luther made one in the speech of living men; for peasants and artisans, and all who could be taught to read. But Erasmus had his reasons for his opinion. With that remarkable clearness of vision of his for looking a great way, but yet not far enough, he foresaw and he predicted precisely the results which have followed from the free circulation and the popular use of the Bible. The fanatical and desperate proceedings which marked the second stage of the incidental progress of the Reformation; the peasant wars; the fervors of an ignorant enthusiasm; the idolatry of the letter of Scripture; the self-conceit, the perplexity, the sects and subdivisions of sects; the scoffing and the unbelief,—all the sad and deplorable consequences which the champions of the Roman Church love now to trace backward to the publication of the Bible, Erasmus, in the spirit of foreboding, announced while they were as yet but existing in the seed in the shape of a font of printing-types.

Experience has realized the fears which many wise and good men, not influenced by any unworthy feeling,—except a distrust of popular discretion and an excess of the conservative spirit,—most seriously expressed as to the effects which would result from the free circulation of the Bible. It is now but a little more than two centuries since the cheapness of its cost and the ability to

read it can be said to have made it the Book of the People. It has been idolized: it has been treated with contempt. Strange extremes are these! The good that it has wrought is incalculable. Is its influence for the future to diminish or to increase?

The Popular Use of the Bible, — the Evils that result from it, if such there are, — the overruling Blessings which come with it and from it, — this is our theme. The object which was once aimed after through the intensest zeal of heart and soul, and pursued at the cost of the hottest strife, amid perils, controversies, and martyrdoms, is now attained. The Bible in the common tongue is free to all who wish to possess it. It has been free long enough to have realized the worst forebodings of those who pronounced it to be unwise or unsafe to submit the whole Bible to popular use: it has been free long enough to have accomplished much of the good which Protestants promised that it would work for the world and for men. What says the trial test of experience on this double issue?

There is a great deal to be said about the popular use of the Bible. The wisest things that can be said about it will be those which will express very plainly the actual state of opinion and practice in the use of the Bible, stating the real facts of the case as we meet them from day to day, and turning them to profitable instruction. With that candor which is better in any cause than is a claim to have all right and reason on our side, let us be ready to admit what tells against our cherished convictions.

A very pertinent question might here be urged upon us as preliminary to any fair treatment of our theme. We admit the pertinence of this question and its claims to a fair discussion, though, as our present aim is aside from it, we can do no more than recognize it here. This question asks, By what right, or on what ground, may all persons indiscriminately, with the degree of judgment, discretion, or knowledge which each may happen to possess, take the Bible in hand and suppose themselves qualified to decide upon it, to affix to it a standard, high or low, human or divine, by which to try it, and then trust themselves to the results which they may happen to reach? There certainly is no known

command of God, that every one should read that Book ; still less is there any divine assurance that all who read it honestly shall read it rightly. How comes it that each of the sixty-six separate compositions found in the Bible, as the Song of Solomon or the Epistle to the Romans, has a claim upon the reverent perusal of all readers, and is presumed to be pledged to give them unqualified satisfaction ? This question, as we have said, invites and deserves discussion, and we regret that we must pass it by. We have, in fact, superseded the remonstrances which the question might be found to utter. We have chosen to have and to read the Bible, whether it belongs to us or not,—whether we read it wisely and rightly or not,—and we are now to deal with the consequences.

For the sake of having a very plain and direct statement before us as a central point around which to arrange our thoughts, let us advance this double sentence: The Bible is a book of inestimable value ; but it is invested with most perplexing difficulties. The Bible is worth more to the world than any other book ; but the popular use of it is beset with various and most bewildering embarrassments. That statement would doubtless be allowed, by the majority of any large assembly in our land, to express the truth fairly and impartially. We might indeed select out of any of our communities large companies of men and women who would be ready to assert respectively the one or the other half of that sentence. Thus, an assembly of earnest and ardent Christians would prefer to say simply this: "The Bible is the most precious of all books"; and to stop there, without putting an allowance of its difficulties on a level with the assertion of its value, and unwilling to admit that its perplexities are so great. On the other hand, we might select in any large community another company of persons who would unanimously agree that the perplexing and embarrassing matters which invest the Bible strike them more forcibly than does the sense of its precious value, and indeed so far qualify that value, and so detract from it, as to make them unwilling to allow that the Bible is so inestimably precious. Taking these two classes of persons, then, as representing extreme views, we will suppose that the majority of

the fair-minded and considerate will all accord in the balanced statement just made, that the Bible is a book of inestimable value, but is invested with most perplexing difficulties. The popular use of the Bible realizes and verifies both those assertions, and therefore in treating this theme we shall have to deal chiefly with those two assertions, to make them very clear, to do justice to each of them, and if possible to reconcile them together.

Take a little domestic scene on a Sunday. We see a father and a mother with a young boy and a girl, their children. Affection is there, the deepest and the purest that life offers to our hearts or our eyesight. The parents know the world: their children do not. The parents know that there is a book in their dwelling teaching truths and lessons, the knowledge and the reverent obedience of which will be the richest of blessings, the surest of defences, to their children. Somewhere in that book are words which they would write upon the very hearts of those little ones. The mother says, "I wish both of you in turn to read aloud in the Bible." The father may interpose the remark, "Bring the book to me, and I will select a good passage, proper and useful for you to read." There is a great deal more implied than is expressed in those remarks of the father and the mother. To the children, of course, the remarks are perfectly reasonable and consistent, and will be so while they are children. But as the father turns the leaves of the book, seeking a proper portion, and as the mother waits the choice, both of them may be led to muse upon the strange fact that the Book of God should need to be read by children through the aid of a wise selection of passages. They are conscious of its value, and of its perplexities.

Take a solitary scene. A young man born in one of our Christian homes, but now sojourning far away, tossed on the ocean, or resting under some foreign roof, tent, or tree, feels at his heart the restraining influence of some tender emotion kindled by the memory of home. Some touched nerve of remorse, or affection, or longing, or devotion, some lonely ache or hope, leads him to take up his Bible, the gift of the nearest, the dearest one far away. He may open to a passage which shall quicken

a glow of piety through his whole heart, which shall lift him in gratitude, trust, or peace, or strike a purpose of repentance or a resolution of virtue into his spirit. Or his eye may be engaged by a narrative or a phrase which shall sadly perplex his mind, leading him to close the book and to take his chance in the current of his thoughts. The love which bestowed the book, and his own confused memories, remind him of its value, but something before him suggests that it is a difficult book.

Take another scene, which may be solitary or may have witnesses. The Bible, in all the splendors of modern art, appears among the presents made to a bride on her wedding-day. In the years of mingled sunshine and light care,—during the flush and delight of untried life,—the book may rest in its place, a handsome ornament, a sacred presence in a dwelling, a household god, ready for an emergency, and waiting its time. Then in the appointed season comes the hour of woe,—the gloom, the desolation, the appalling reality of mortal grief,—the sight of death's statuary work,—with weeping and anguish of heart. The Bible has found its time. The mourner takes it in her hand. Does she know where she will find just what has been written for her? Will the book open at once to the scene around the grave of Lazarus, with the weeping sisters and the weeping Saviour,—with his raised eye, and his word of holy comfort? Will she fix her sight upon the precious chapters which close the Gospel of John, or upon *that* chapter in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, or upon some tender psalm of David? Or will that mourner—unskilled in the contents of the book to which her heart's instinct guides her only to leave her—turn over and over the comfortless pages of Canaanitish wars, of hard genealogies, of worldly-wise proverbs, of prophetic burdens, or of Jewish and Gentile controversies? It makes a vast difference with that mourner where her Bible opens, and whether she blindly turns its leaves as one explores a dreary desert, or fixes her gaze upon the one precious page, as the desert traveller puts his fevered lips to the cool gushing spring of water. The mourner knows the precious value of the Bible, but its difficulties are not forgotten.

Another scene. The prisoner in his cell has the Bible

by his side, and light shining upon its letters. Will it in the chance hour, and in his chance state of feeling, reach his heart, stir his conscience, soften his spirit, bedew his eyes, move him to that true penitence which is piety? That depends much upon the page which he reads, upon the associations which narrative or precept may bring with it, and upon the mental process which may be working either on a sentence that edifies, or upon one which confounds him.

Yet one more scene. The scholar, the critic, the philosopher in his study has a Bible almost buried among other books. Does it stand chiefest, the most honored and beloved by him, the only one really revered among all those volumes? Rich poetry, affluent science, captivating romance, instructive history, engaging biography, compress their various treasures on his shelves. The written wisdom of the world looks out upon him as through the furrowed brows of philosophers and ancient sages. The lighter strains of lighter heads impart their measurement of pleasure. But the Bible, what of that? whose retrospective pages go back to the beginnings of things, and whose visions take in the great end with its consummations. What of the Bible, which pronounces sentences of its own upon all the folly and upon all the wisdom of its companion volumes, and upon all the men whose lives and labors are summed up in them? The student opens the book and puts the question to the page before him. What is the passage? It may be one which critics love, because it plagues them so. It may be one which the astronomer, or the geologist, or the annalist, has flouted at. It may be one which wars with philosophy. Or it may be a sublime psalm, just such a one as the aforesaid astronomer or geologist might be glad to quote, as expressive of the glory, the harmony, the antiquity of the universe; just such a one as he would quote, if he were not as much ashamed to be indebted to the Bible for his rhetoric as he is to be indebted to it for his faith. Or it may be a profoundly wise counsel or maxim, going deeper into the heart of things than Plato went. Or it may be a glowing poetic strain, such as ancient bards could not reach, nor modern bards, though the Bible has touched their lips and kindled their genius. Or it may be that the student

reads a sentence of the beloved disciple, or of the chief Apostle, which sparkles with heavenly radiance, or pierces like a sword, or reveals the mystery of the life within, or displays the workings of the Divine Mind on the problem of judgment and mercy. Many, many such contingencies attend the opening of the sacred volume by the critical student or the literary man. A savor of life or a savor of death seems often to hang suspended on the issue.

Other scenes, infinite in their variety, and each with some peculiar pertinency and emphasis, would illustrate both parts of the statement which we are weighing concerning the popular use of the Bible. Take even the pulpit, which the Bible itself has built, and to which nothing but the Bible will ever give authority or consecration. How do the pulpits of Christendom make their comments on the sentence, that the Bible is a book of inestimable value, but beset with serious perplexities? A Christian minister may stand in a pulpit for twenty, fifty, sixty years, as some have stood, and twice upon each Sabbath of each year he may draw great lessons, inexhaustible in their instruction, precious and potent in their influence, and suited to all the changes and straits, the sins and woes, of mortal life, — this Bible furnishing him with his texts. Often, indeed, the text will be the best part of the sermon; and always, the closer the preacher keeps to his text, the stronger and the sounder will be his doctrine.

Now if there were but one pulpit on the earth, all might be well. One faith, one unchanging form of truth, one doctrine, one duty, one hope, might address all ears and win all hearts. But face the facts as they really are. No two pulpits accord in all their teachings from the same book. The book itself, to the majority of the nominally Christian world, is said to need an Infalible Church to interpret it, without which its wisdom will be dumb, and its truth error, and its way of salvation hopeless. And among those who say, "The Bible only," each thoughtful, inquisitive, independent mind has its own distinct opinions, its own convictions, its own explanations, theories, and methods for relieving perplexities. The letter killeth some: the spirit eludes others. Educated teachers often treat the Bible as they

do the dictionary of their language, claiming that they make a good use of both if they use all the words and only the words which are found in them. And while scribes well instructed, if not perplexed themselves, do at least perplex each other and their hearers, there are those who mingle their own mental light or darkness with those of the Word. We encounter from time to time the allegorical interpreter, like Swedenborg, and the Second Advent interpreters, like Miller, who fix the date on which the world shall come to an end, providing meanwhile a comfortable alternative on the earth, if the prediction should fail. To these are to be added an indescribable class of interpreters, who scorn what is plain to busy themselves with mysteries; who seek to serve God by asking hard questions; who catch at the vials, horns, and strange beasts; and who are chiefly given to dealing with Daniel and the Apocalypse, for the same reason that quack doctors treat diseases which regular practitioners leave to God. Some expounders there are who seem to try to read the English Bible backwards, perhaps because they may have heard that Hebrew and Chaldee are so read. Then the Shaker has his way of reading the book. If you tell him, in reference to his bodily and muscular efforts and dancing in his worship, that St. Paul writes "that bodily exercise profiteth little," he will reply that he reads differently, thus: "Bodily exercise profiteth a little," — and that little is what he is after. Mankind are not generally esteemed a patient race; but they have exhibited amazing degrees of patience under what they have endured as religious instruction. Shade of Erasmus! Does it comfort thee to see thine earthly fears thus realized, — thy sad predictions thus fulfilled?

These gatherings up from private and public experience in the popular use of the Bible justify us in presenting distinctly to our minds each of the two terms of the sentence which is directing our thoughts.

The Bible is a book of inestimable value; precious beyond all the power of words to express; the guide, the chart, the statute-book, the hope, of millions of human beings. Having in view the profoundly wise and holy lessons contained in the Bible, its lofty truths, its fervor, unction, and pathos of devotion, its mighty dem-

onstrations of morality and piety, and its Great Salvation, it is indeed a possession whose value to man cannot be calculated. Both for what it teaches and for its mode of teaching, for the whole strain of its instructions, and for the spirit which, like the air of a heavenly realm, breathes through it, the Bible is to the civilized world the greatest, the chiefest, of all its treasures. There is no term of praise, no epithet of honor, no strength of phrase, which we may not use in speaking of the Bible. Remembering only its practical value, how could we overstate or exaggerate its indispensable, its manifold, its wide-spread and universal uses for our race? It is this priceless practical value of the Bible which is had in view when parents commit it to their children, and friends make of it a gift of love, and teachers and ministers urge its daily and faithful use. The perplexities which undeniably invest it are for the time forgotten, — not denied, but merely overlooked. The risk of them is run. The annoyance, the embarrassment, of them is encountered; while heart and conscience and conviction are strong in the assurance that the practical value of the Bible is so eminent and indispensable as to make all the perplexities which attend it insufficient to forbid its use, or to overbalance its good influence for a single human being. The parent knows that there are lessons contained in that book, which, if the son or the daughter will heed them, will be as a guard of angels to them through life, to protect and guide them, to train them in purity and virtue, in all that is amiable and good and excellent and honorable, and to combine with what is dangerous or saddening in earthly experience an element of security and peace and piety. A friend gives the Bible to a friend, knowing that the gift is as suited to express affection as any other thing which can be purchased or bestowed. We commend the afflicted, the sick, the dying to the Bible, because we know, both from what the book contains and from the long experience of its power in such sad scenes, that the nerves of a stricken heart, the sympathies of a wounded spirit, find a balm in the Bible that soothes all anguish, and ministers as through the touch of a Divine Physician and Consoler. We multiply copies of the Bible in all tongues. We print it in every form, large and small, cheap and costly;

we bind it in silk and velvet, in silver and in gold. We put it on board the ships that course the globe, and in the chamber of the public inn; we commit it to the sailor's chest, the soldier's tent, and the prisoner's cell. We lay it upon the pulpit of every church, as enough of itself to turn the pulpit into an altar. The most solemn oaths for jurors, witnesses, judges, rulers and magistrates, monarchs and presidents, are taken upon the Bible. The finest works of art delineate scenes and characters in the Bible. A phrase or sentence from it is made the motto and gives the inspiration to lyrics and hymns. Thus do we in all sorts of ways express our knowledge and conviction, that the Bible is a book of inestimable value; that its practical use to men and women is beyond all exaggeration precious; that it fills a place which nothing else could fill.

And now, how grateful it would be, if, after having said all this about the value of the Bible, we could stop here, without adding one qualifying word to mar the beauty and the glory of the effect of the Bible. But if we stopped here, we should not deal fairly with what experience realizes from the popular use of the Bible. We must now apply the other portion of our leading sentence.

The Bible, says experience, popular experience, is invested with tremendous and most perplexing difficulties; with many most embarrassing questions of philosophy, of history, of interpretation. The simple-minded, true-hearted Christian woman, stricken in years and gracious through real piety, may sit by her fireside and read the Bible through and through with a calm joy, an unquestioning confidence, a sweet satisfaction of spirit which is never for one moment disturbed. The book will be all true, all holy, all intelligible, in one or another way, to her. Talk to her of difficulties of interpretation, of perplexities of faith, and you will find that she has never been troubled by anything of the kind, has in fact never thought of them. The Bible is to her, out and out, through and through, the Book of God,—all good, all precious, all alike. But take the scholars, the critics, the inquisitive-minded, the thinkers, the philosophers, the artisans, the men of business,—any class, indeed, of middle-aged persons of the present day,—and while

every one of them may admit every word that has been said of the inestimable practical value of the Bible, they will immediately add, if they are willing to speak their minds, that the Bible suggests to them a great many perplexities.

It can scarcely be necessary to go into particulars in this matter; the briefest references will suffice. There is the supernatural element in the Bible. And this is not a stain spotting the records here and there, but it is the indyed color, the tint diffused equally over the whole Bible, and wrought into its very texture; so that, if the supernatural element were to be extracted from the Bible, not a single leaf in it would hold together, and the effect would be like that of taking the heart, the arteries, the veins and bloodvessels, out of a human body. Then, too, there are all the questions which science has turned up, which learned research opens, and which fantastic ingenuity can suggest; questions which, once first asked by some inquisitive or restless mind, get published abroad, are caught up by everybody, and are never afterwards put to rest. Such questions are made to suggest themselves from each one of the sciences as they now offer their results. The standard of infallibility, which has been popularly attached to the Bible for two centuries, has led many persons to suppose that they had in that volume, ready at their hands, a test by which to try every doctrine or assertion or theory which has been proposed to them. No matter where a sentence from it might be found, in what connection, or from whose lips it came, it was in the Bible, and that was enough. Some of the false utterances of Job's *comforters*, which the sufferer himself rebuked, and some of David's expressions of remorse, have been caught up and referred to the Almighty, as decisive sentences of his upon the inborn iniquity of every human being. "There must be real witches," said King James the First, "because the Bible says, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.'" Two female enthusiasts, under the name of Quakers, ran through the streets and into a church of this city two hundred years ago, in a state of utter nudity, and justified themselves by the example of Isaiah (xx. 2, 3). "To the law and to the testimony" is the familiar phrase that has been quoted times without

number, to justify a trial of everything by something from the Bible. The consequence is, that the Bible has been studied as nothing else has been studied, and preconceived opinions on all subjects have been gathered from its incidental contents, by which it is made to meet a thousand issues with the progress of thought and knowledge.

The microscopic criticism to which the Bible has been subjected has brought out many minute perplexities. In a writing ascribed to Moses, names are attached to places which it is said were given to them only long after his day, and so the authenticity of all his reputed work is denied. Those who have not the ingenuity or the knowledge to discover such a perplexity will make the most of it to the discredit of the Bible, when they learn that these suggestions have been advanced by others. Then there are all the difficulties which every reader may encounter, and the more obvious embarrassments which lie upon the surface of the sacred record; such as the indelicate stories, the cruel wars, the wicked deeds, the superstitions, backslidings, and idolatries, beside all the questions raised by the chronologist and the historian, the matters of controversy, the materials of which bigotry or persecution may avail itself, and the dark, impenetrable mysteries of the Word. All these perplexities are made obvious and notorious by the popular use of the Bible, and qualify its value, and detract from its best influence over many right-minded persons.

We have now distinctly before us both parts of the statement, that the Bible is a book of inestimable value, but is invested with many embarrassing difficulties. This statement expresses the opinion which the free use of it has brought the mass of intelligent people to entertain concerning it. Leaving out of view bigots on this side, and scoffers on that, all others will accord in that opinion. In regard to its value, they will all earnestly and cheerfully affirm, that the world would be cast into night if deprived of its sacred lessons, its perfect morality, its strong consolations, its precious hopes; that the very salt of life would go with the Bible; that civilization would fester like a rotting carcass; that man would be in a miserable condition, a poor, unguided, hopeless

creature, if the Bible, which he now possesses, were taken from him. And then, in regard to the difficulties presented by the Bible, all candid persons will allow them, and, in certain states of mind, will be greatly troubled by them. How many have wished that this or that passage had been left out of the Bible; that it were free from this or that perplexity; that it were all of a character with its best parts, — all intelligible, a perfect, regular, continuous, and complete history of God's creation and of his dealings and purposes as regards men, — all pure, — all proper to be read aloud, — all good for the young, — all suited to the sick and the mourning, the happy and the sad, the saint and the sinner!

If now experience presents these results from the free use of the Bible, and confirms this general view of it as a precious book with painful perplexities, our object should be to reconcile and harmonize, as far as possible, those undeniable elements of popular opinion. As the case now stands, a well-intentioned reader may take up the Bible, and be edified, quickened to the very soul, raised heavenward, inspired, and comforted; or he may be led into a maze of questions and doubts, a bewildering process of thought, a perfect chaos of mind. Now what is to be said or done in this emergent issue of experience? The Bible is free to all. It cannot be locked up again. It is subjected to a searching trial. The scrutinizing lenses of ten thousand gazing eyes are upon it; the probe and the dissecting-knife are busy upon it. It is receiving hard treatment. Shall its perplexities be allowed to depreciate its value, or shall its value move us to seek relief from its perplexities? Its popular use forces us to the one or the other alternative.

With that modesty and deference which the theme before us, and a sense of our own inadequate qualifications for dealing most wisely with it, may be supposed to prompt, we wish to offer a few suggestions designed to relieve some of the difficulties now encountered in the popular use of the Bible. But before saying another word to that purpose, we feel bound to the confession that the Bible presents to us *some* difficulties which we know not how to explain or to account for, — difficulties which we have no means of relieving. Sometimes these insoluble problems concern the *letter of the text*, the form

of the record; sometimes they attach to the *subject-matter* of the record. Our curiosity is teased, our understanding is perplexed, our faith is sorely tried, by these difficulties. The confession of the fact, made frankly and fully, is the only relief that we can find under them. We will not offer encouragement to any one to believe that all the wit or wisdom of man will rid the Bible of everything that interferes with a hearty, unqualified delight in its perusal. We are aware of some needful abatements to the pleasure which the study of its various contents affords, and we have nothing to say to others which will exempt them from a share in our own perplexities.

From those who have studied the text of the Bible with fidelity, and who professionally or otherwise enforce its claims to reverence and confidence, candid honesty demands this frank allowance, that there are some difficulties presented by it which are not to be explained away by any of the recognized means for relieving the mind when it asks what seem to be fair questions. This class of difficulties may embrace more or fewer matters to different minds, and each one of them may be attended by its own embarrassment, — a greater or a less embarrassment. But that there are *some* such matters concerning which it is impossible to satisfy the mind, all candid students must admit.

What can we say wisely, for instance, of the extreme age to which human life, both before and after the flood, is said to have been protracted? — what of the nine hundred and fifty years of Noah, or even of the two hundred and five years of Terah? If Moses wrote the record of such longevity, and if he wrote also the ninetyeth Psalm, which is attributed to him, how can we account for his expressing no surprise, and for his withholding any reason for the shortening of the term of human life down to his standard of “threescore years and ten”? Though the facts may have been precisely as the record asserts, it is evident that nothing that we can say will explain the matter so as to divest the record of a *seeming* fabulousness in exaggeration; and the best thing that we can do is to leave the matter just as we find it. Explanations only aggravate our uneasiness.

Again, as to the narrative of the Flood. God is rep-

resented as sparing himself the necessity of re-creating the animated tribes which he had once called into existence for the earth, by providing for the preservation of a pair, at least, of each species, through Noah and his ark. We are plainly left to *infer* that Noah compassed the earth between the poles and the equator, and gathered from all climes the animals, birds, insects, and reptiles which were scattered through various latitudes, and that he then inclosed them, with food for a hundred and fifty days, in a vessel, the dimensions of which as given are proved by calculation insufficient for such a purpose. This ark too, so laden, had but one window. It may be replied, that the flood was only a local one; but the record does not say so. It may be suggested that the animals and birds of only one region were rescued; but the record does not say this either: on the contrary, the record seems to preclude such suppositions. If the record had affirmed that God destroyed *all* creatures and *created* new ones, or had stated in *general terms* that God preserved a pair of each, we should have read with entire acquiescence. But the record attempts to explain, and the explanation falters.

These are specimens of some of the textual and substantial difficulties presented in the Bible, of which candor requires us to confess we can offer no satisfactory solution. Intelligent children are very apt to ask whose *daughter* Cain married, and what he wanted of a *city*, and who helped him to *build* it. The wisest answer that parents can give to such questions is to say that they don't know. If there is never a virtue in ignorance, there is sometimes a comfort in the confession of it.

There are likewise many serious perplexities presented to us by the large numbers — the thousands, the tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands — given as expressing the population, the armies, the victims of war or famine, in the Jewish annals. Though our ignorance or confused or partial knowledge as to the Hebrew method of annotation, and the natural risks of error in the copying of written records, where the spatter of a pen might multiply a number, may avail us in a measure as a relief from such perplexities, still, perfect satisfaction concerning them is out of the question.

The New Testament is not wholly free from similar

perplexities. Some parallelisms of narrative in its contents prompt us to institute a rigid test of their infallibility, and in so doing we encounter embarrassments. In the Gospel of Matthew (xxvii. 5, 6) it is said that *Judas returned the price of his treachery to the priests, and hanged himself*, while *they* purchased with the money a strangers' burial-field. In the Acts of the Apostles (i. 18) it is said that *Judas himself bought* a field with the money and *died in another way*. Again, St. Luke, in relating St. Paul's conversion, says that those who were with him *heard the voice* which was addressed to him (Acts ix. 7). But the same writer, in reporting a speech of St. Paul, writes that St. Paul affirmed that those who were with him *did not hear* the voice (Acts xxii. 9). Discrepances like these never trouble us in secular writings, or in connection with secular matters; they are indeed regarded as corroborative of the essential facts in the relations of which they appear. But taken in connection with the popular estimate of what the Bible ought to be, and the more frequent and unqualified assertion as to what it is, such discrepancies are annoying. They afford the materials of which scepticism under all its forms — whether of painful slowness of faith, or of carping and captious hostility to faith — is sure to avail itself. Ingenious suggestions, adduced to rebut aspersions cast upon the Bible from such grounds, are indeed abundant, and more or less pertinent in each case; but as these suggestions cannot be incorporated into the text, that must be left to offer to its readers, as they may happen to be furnished to encounter them, these various matters of embarrassment.

We have frankly affirmed that honesty requires of all Biblical scholars and teachers this admission, — that the text of the Bible, as we read it, provokes some fair questions which cannot be satisfactorily answered. It will not avail to refer such difficulties to some mystery in God's providence. All that can be included within that veiled secrecy will be cheerfully committed to it by the truth-loving and the right-minded, but what has been unveiled will be expected to be self-consistent. The frank confession of such difficulties leaves us in the best position for restricting the number of them; for confining them to matters not affecting faith or duty; and

for maintaining, in spite of them all, the Divine authority and the inestimable value of the chief contents of the Bible. It is our full conviction that the evasive, disingenuous, and wholly unsatisfactory way in which some unwise advocates of the Bible now deal with these difficulties—either in flatly denying their existence, or meeting them by pleas addressed to the credulous and the timid—actually causes more perplexity to some right-minded persons than do the difficulties themselves. To speak in all sincerity what is in our minds, we fear that some theological professors and ministers, for the sake of maintaining what they regard as essential to popular faith in the Bible, advance views of it *as a whole* which they know are false, and wink out of sight facts which they do not have courage to deal with. The charge is a terribly serious one, but if it be unfounded, we will bear the blame of having made it only for the joy of being rebuked for it, should that rebuke come from honest consciences, which it seems to implicate. Popular orthodoxy is committed to a view of the Bible *as a whole* which is untenable. The dread of shattering that system of faith leads some of its disciples to assert of the Bible what they cannot prove; and so to expose it to the attacks of an alarming and unrelenting opposition. For ourselves, we are free to confess that the Bible ought not to be put into the hands of any one as a book which will answer all the questions which it prompts, or as having the protection of the plea of mystery or of the inscrutableness of the Divine counsels for what in other records we should call errors. When mistakes are made in a genealogy or in casting up a sum, we are not in the habit of drawing down our faces, and making an awful pause, as upon the borders of forbidden precincts. We say, "There is a mistake here," and, drawing a long breath, we set to work to find out the truth, if we can.

If, after the best exercise of our intelligence, honesty compels us to admit that there are mistakes in the Bible, we shall better honor the whole spirit of the book by confessing it, than we shall serve its mere letter by denying it. It would indeed be a thousand-fold better, as we judge, if a volume so revered and so used were immaculate. But if it be not so as a whole, our assertions, however positive, will not make it so.

Relief from the class of perplexities which we have been considering is to be sought, and we are sure is to be found, in another direction. The Bible itself gives us no assurance that God dictated every line in it, or that he has watched over its transcription, its translation, and its transmission through all ages, guarding it from the risks of pens and printing-types, or from the ventures of its writers when they undertook to say something for themselves beyond what they were to say for Him. If it could be shown that the Bible bids us *believe* or *do* something that we know to be wrong or wicked, the fact would be fatal. But the perplexities we have referred to are not of that nature. We pass now to difficulties which do admit of being met by fair solutions, more or less decisive.

The usual counsel of religious teachers on this point is, that those who cannot explain or surmount those perplexities for themselves should confide in the scholars and critics who can; and should believe that all such difficulties may be removed. But it is hardly fair, in the view of many, to avail ourselves of the means which only a critical scholar enjoys, as if they were of use to all common readers of the Bible. Besides, these same critical scholars have done a good part of the mischief in the case. Instead of relieving the Bible from difficulties, they have raised and multiplied these difficulties, have pointed them out, and thrown them into the field of scepticism. Scholars will be found to have done as much harm as good in their ways of presenting the Bible to popular use.

The true method of relief appears to be, for each one to do all that he can to surmount his own difficulties, to satisfy his own mind, and to deal with the Bible for himself. Protestantism claimed that privilege for all; let all be faithful in using it, as a duty. Let the value of the Bible, its precious and inestimable value, assured by its priceless wisdom and worth, be heartily appreciated, and let the aim be to face its perplexities and to look them out of countenance.

These perplexities are exaggerated. They are thought to be much greater than they are: they are represented as much worse than they are. There has recently come in a way of speaking of the Bible, as if it confounded

history, and science, and common sense, and philosophy, in some of its views and statements. This opinion is a perfect bugbear to many persons. One would suppose that the Bible had been brought to the level of a mass of idle legends, according to the bold assertions of some around us; and the wonder would be that there is so much of good in it. Let us say a few words as to the prominent objections which have been urged against it.

The worst difficulties presented in the popular use of the Bible are those which spring directly from attaching to it as a whole *a character which it nowhere claims for itself*, from overstating or overestimating its own demands or its own intentions. We have assumed a certain standard for the contents and the authority of all the ingredients of the Bible for which we cannot quote any evidence in the book itself. We have looked to it for science. Does it offer itself to us as a treatise on science? We have looked to it for history? Does it profess to write out a complete history of anything, or simply to give us a fragment of history, and that only to exhibit the divine element in it? We have called all the documents within its cover inspired of God. Do those documents say this of themselves? Does the Song of Solomon, or the Book of Esther, which does not even contain the word *God*, make this claim? There are reasons for believing that the Old Testament embraces every line of the Jewish literature which was in existence at the time the collection was made. As all that literature took its tone and spirit from the especial religious dealing of Providence with the nation, every line of it is properly included in the sacred volume. But that fact, if it be a fact, should always be kept in view to account for the miscellaneous character of the collection. The New Testament makes itself responsible for the assertions that Moses and his Law and the line of Prophets were inspired, and that the Psalms contain references to the Messiah. Those assertions can be sustained. All that the whole Bible, or any of its parts, claims of itself to be, can be substantiated. But we have popularly overstated or misconceived of those claims; hence many of our perplexities.

Again, it may be said of all these perplexities in general, that only very ingenious, if not captious, readers

first discover them. They are often hunted out by such persons as a trial of their own wits, a speculation upon their own capital of learning; then they are published abroad in the strongest possible array, and without a word to relieve them. It seems to be the crowning joy of some critics, if they can find a moral sentence in some old writer which may dispute for originality in point of time with a Bible text, or if some inscription at Nineveh or Thebes or Denderah can be made to confound Scripture. The amazing boldness of some of these critics in generalizing from most scanty premises, and in drawing inferences from the very faintest glimmerings of light upon a dark point, is a standing reproach upon the cause of good scholarship. It has been frequently and most positively asserted of late years, that there is no evidence that what is called the Law of Moses, was known or recognized till into the time of the monarchy. Happily, there is an answer of a most decided character to this bold affirmation. The divisions of Palestine between the tribes sprung from the sons of Jacob are as accurately defined as are the boundary-lines of our States. Now there has never been a foot of soil there belonging to the tribe of Levi. Why? Because that was the priestly tribe, and was supported by the other tribes. What made that the priestly tribe? The Law of Moses. What were their functions? Those appointed by that law. Their office, reaching back to the first occupation of Palestine by the Israelites, carries back also the existence and authority of the Law of Moses to the same date. Then, again, many persons who will yield their belief to some of the most absurd deceptions of the passing day, as wrought for gain or mischief, are greatly distressed at the awful demands upon faith which are made in the Bible for ends of highest sanctity.

The real perplexities of the Bible for honest minds may be classed under the following heads: scientific difficulties; historical objections; indelicate details; narratives of wars; and the constant presence of miracle.

As to the presumed collision between statements in the Bible and modern science, we might say, that when science has settled its own ever-changing theories, in geology, in chronology, in the nebula hypothesis, and in

ethnology, it will be time enough for science to triumph over the Bible. One of the most eminent of living geologists has thrice rewritten his own theories on that subject with most serious modifications; and though that science has most palpable materials on which to work, its different authorities are at variance as to some of its first principles. But the Bible occupies ground wholly distinct and apart from that of science. It is no part of its design to teach geology or history merely, or astronomy. Its allusions to anything of the sort are only incidental. Not one single truth, or duty, or religious hope, is set at risk by any scientific difficulty raised in the Bible. Moses devotes some twenty to thirty *verses* to an account of the Creation of all things, and he devotes almost as many whole *chapters* to an account of the Tabernacle, or movable tent for worship in the wilderness, with its ritual service. The difference is amazing. One would have supposed that the twenty chapters had better have been given to the Creation, while twenty verses would have been enough for the Tabernacle. The simple explanation is that Moses *intended to describe* the Tabernacle, but he did not intend to describe the Creation. How much ingenuity has been spent upon those verses of Genesis, both to make them square with science, and to show their variance with science! But have not those verses a wholly different purpose, one strictly their own, and that not to describe, or explain, or account for the creation of anything, but only to refer the creation of all things to One Supreme, Intelligent, All-powerful Spirit? That is their evident design. "In the beginning God created." No matter when that beginning was, or how the result was brought about, — God was the Creator. The expressions "God created," "God made," "God called," "God said," "God blessed," introduce each verse, each specific act of creation, — from "the great lights" of heaven to the "creeping things" of the earth, — not to explain the method of the origin of any one of them, but to connect them all, the greatest and the least, with the same sovereign power of the Almighty. Is not that sublime lesson worth teaching to man, if only to confound all pagan genealogies of the gods, and all heathen theories of generations and emanations from mud or mist?

The geologist just referred to tells us, with as much positiveness as if he had been an actual eyewitness, that it has taken the waters of Lake Erie thirty thousand years to form the cataract of Niagara, while the assumed Bible chronology makes the world only six thousand years old. Now, in the first place, the Bible nowhere states the age of the world. The Bible is not committed to any era, date, or period of time in that matter, as it does not tell us when the beginning was; and, for anything affirmed in it to the contrary, it may be a million millions of years old. And in the second place, for anything we *know*, the cataract of Niagara may have been made in one thousand, or even in five hundred years. Again, science says that the *rainbow* is a natural phenomenon, and has nothing to do with a covenant with Noah against another flood. Yet science must acknowledge that the rainbow proves such a balancing of the heavenly agencies of the sun against the rain, that there cannot be a universal flood. And whenever science wishes to prove any grave error upon the Bible, the issue depends upon such close questions of the interpretation of little words and figures of speech, that the result is very doubtful.

As to matters of common secular history, an alarm has been raised that discoveries made among the ruins of Ancient Egypt would overturn the Bible narrative. But nothing has as yet appeared from that quarter in the least to justify the alarm. On the contrary, Egyptian archæology, to speak plainly a homely truth, has proved to be a prime humbug of this age of humbug. The pretence of its thirty or forty thousand years of record in monumental inscriptions is a perfect farce. We know positively nothing of its history back of the seventh century before Christ. The theory of the extreme antiquity of the astronomical observations made at Syene is every way unworthy of credit, and is dissipated to the winds. The so-called zodiacal tablets of Denderah and Abydos are devices but a scale above the Peruvian picture-painting. The key to the hieroglyphics is still in dispute. As to the relation between the Israelites and Egyptians as traced on monuments, the two most eminent Egyptologists are at issue as to whether certain signs signify Shepherd *monarchs* or Shepherd *captives*. A rather serious

issue! One, too, which is a very fair index of the actual state of things presented by the bold pretences of antiquarians in the matter of Egyptian lore.

We had in this city, a few years ago, a striking and a somewhat ludicrous illustration of the very unsatisfactory state of our knowledge of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. A gentleman whose attainments and manners made him many friends among us, the son of our consul at Alexandria, one who had attended many explorers among the ancient ruins, and who had informed himself in the freshest contributions to the interpretation of their solemn lore, delivered a course of lectures here with abundant illustrations. He announced that he was in possession of a mummy of the most *recherché* character, obtained at great cost, which he would open if a large subscription in money were contributed by those who might be privileged to witness the unrolling of the almost antediluvian cere-cloths. He excited public curiosity to the keenest expectation by publishing the titles and distinctions of the mummy, as the hieroglyphics described the contents of the sarcophagus. The ancient sleeper, who was again to see the light amid a crowd of inquisitive Yankees, was a Priestess, either of the Sun or the Moon, a veritable hierophant of the oldest shrine of human worship, with a starry genealogy and an Oriental sanctity testified to in the costliness of her embalmment and the glory of her symbolic investiture. It was not one of the ordinary mummies, to be had by the thousand, from whose pitchy fragments the roving Arab kindles his camp-fire. But a grade below the dust of the Pharaohs was that which the mysteriously inscribed case before us contained. There was not the slightest misgiving on the part of the excellent gentleman himself; he allowed no margin for uncertainty,—no more than if he were reading a morning newspaper in his mother tongue. Nor were the public overruled by their doubts; they believed before they saw,—and they believed *after* it too, though somewhat differently. We remember that one or more profane persons suggested that Barnum *might* have committed "Joice Heth," after she had ceased to be of service in another way, to an Egyptian sarcophagus in his Museum, and *might* be using an honest man to palm her off on the Bostonians

as a priestess. But *belief* prevailed. The subscription—a large amount—was filled; a great and eager assembly was gathered,—divines, lawyers, physicians, men of science, the most distinguished naturalist in the world, ladies, and others. The dread ceremony was performed; the box was opened; the occupant proved to be not even a *woman*,—much less a priestess. It was a dead man who had got into the wrong box, as had also many living men around him. So much for Egypt.

Then it is pretended that China has records far more ancient than those of Scripture, and that the sacred books of the Bramins and Buddhists of India are older than the Bible, and in some respects as good. This assumption stands as yet wholly unwarranted by a particle of evidence. The publications of the Asiatic Societies, aided by native scholars, fail to verify it. There is now a great reaction on these very points. Many persons who were frightened by slurs cast upon the Bible by scientific men, by critics and antiquarians, have recovered their self-possession, have looked into these matters, and now hold the Bible in fonder reverence. The writing has yet to be discovered and produced, from all antiquity, which can prove itself more ancient, more holy, or more true, than those in the Bible.

As to the indelicate narratives, the disclosures of immorality, made in the Bible, these are related from fidelity to history. They are matters of fact; the deeds of men and women among whom the thread of sacred story and of God's dealings leads its way. They could not have been honestly suppressed. They prove the candor and the integrity of the historians. The Bible never excuses nor palliates them. They are related for a pure purpose and a sacred moral, and are covered by the shield of that sanctity, that holy intent, which the Bible seeks to serve from its first line to its last. They are unfit reading for children, simply because they will do children no good. As the young grow up, they can understand them, and why they are in the Bible. There are things occurring in human life, under the providence of God, which a parent keeps from a child.

And so we may say of all the dark passages, the wicked doings, the idolatries and wars, which the Bible records. They tell us of ancient sins and evils, of what

once was, of what once was done : perplexing at first to all readers, but cleared up in the same way in which, in our mature years, we explain to ourselves the mysteries of providence, the good and evil of life, the imperfect retributions, the dark dealings of the earth. The ascribing of the Canaanitish wars to the direction of God is alleged by some as unworthy of the Almighty. But the wars occurred ; there is no doubt of that : and God allowed them. What can we do or say about that ? If we have to admit them as facts transpiring under the Divine government, why not admit the description of them which refers them to the Divine government ? The difficulty lies in the fact of the wars and in God's allowance of them, not in the narrative of them. They were of God's permission. Why not say so then ? If we cannot believe in a Bible which records those facts, we must still believe in a God who allowed them to be facts. Some persons seem to think that, by impugning the Bible narrative of those wars, they wink the facts themselves out of sight. But they do not : the facts of history still stand. After clearing God's Book of them, they must still clear God's Providence of them, and that is no more easy for an unbeliever in the Bible than for one who reveres it.

We have still one point, which seems to us of paramount importance, on which to offer a few remarks. There is a fair and a very comprehensive principle of interpretation to be recognized by modern readers of the Bible, the application of which in some passages tends greatly to relieve the record of many embarrassing features. Let it be distinctly understood, however, that the suggestion which we are now to make is not advanced as a subterfuge, or as an evasion of the real meaning of a passage of Scripture, for the sake of getting rid of a perplexity, or for the purpose of reducing marvels to natural occurrences. Such in some cases are the *effects* which the application of the principle now in view will secure ; but these effects do not constitute the *reason* for adopting it. The principle presents itself as in strict accordance with the laws of language, and with the rules for translating from one language into another, — from an ancient and metaphorical into a modern and literal language. The principle of interpretation is this.

The genius of the Hebrew language is so wholly unlike that of our own language, that the whole cast of many sentences, and the obvious signification of them to us, must be entirely changed, if we would be sure that we have the mind of the writer. Justice to him requires us not to interpret him literally. The sense which *his words* have to us was not the sense which he sought to express by the words and images which he used. We shall not get *his* meaning by putting *our own* meaning upon his language. To find his meaning, we must not only translate his words, but his thoughts also. We are inclined to interpret literally what was written metaphorically. We are apt to take the imagery of an Oriental mind as expressing just what the images mean to us, and so we err.

The frequent study of the Old Testament has impressed upon our own mind no conviction more strongly than this, that the marvel and the perplexity of many passages in it attach to a false way of reading it. Every reader of the Bible in our tongue, and with our views of what is consistent with true reverence, is struck, very painfully too at times, by the freedom with which the Deity is spoken of, portrayed, brought on the scenes of human life, and represented as acting a part here. This characteristic of many passages in the Old Testament is all the more annoying to us, because it is so broadly in contrast with the sublime, the reverential, and every way adequate terms and delineations, by which the Deity is there represented. We all know that piety and veneration and awe cannot fashion more tender or august conceptions of the Supreme Being, than innumerable passages of the Old Testament convey to us; and that human language cannot express such conceptions more fitly than do sentences which we might quote from the sacred page. The astronomer, with all his modern culture and enlargement of view beyond those of the old Sabeans, must still seek in the Old Testament the choicest terms of speech for announcing the grandeur and glory of this universe and the attributes of its Author. The forms of poetic speech, with all the polish and fastidiousness of genius to work upon them, cannot reach the sublimity of Israel's bards in homage to the Supreme. Finding, then, such perfection in conception

and expression concerning Him in writings containing passages which, taken in the letter, are in painful contrast with them, the question naturally presents itself to us, Ought we to take these offensive passages literally? And we answer decidedly, No! because we wrong the writer, and do not get his meaning, if we take his own words put into our words, and fail to translate his imagery and his thoughts. We are perfectly persuaded that a large license in figurative interpretation, in the allowances of Oriental rhetoric, is a thoroughly legitimate and indispensable principle to be applied in the common perusal of the Bible. We are well aware of the abuses to which this principle has always led, from Origen down to Swedenborg, and to the so-called spiritualists of our own time. We know that, by its excessive application, all the contents of the Old Testament may be resolved into fanciful nonsense on the one side, or may be wholly divested of the divine element on the other. We will frankly confess, too, that the principle is so indefinite and indeterminate in itself, that no one is able to say how far it may be carried, or whether in a given case it is applied legitimately or is abused. But still we hold to the principle, and we apply it for ourselves, finding by it and through it an added charm in every sentence which seems to us to require it, and a relief from many literalisms which would otherwise greatly annoy us.

We read, in Exodus iv., that God commissioned Moses to go to Egypt to fulfil his great trust, and we are informed how his faltering heart was reinforced by Divine assurances which satisfied him. Being charged with an explicit message to Pharaoh, and warned how it will be received, Moses sets out upon his journey. The common reader of the English Bible may well be startled at reading what follows: "And it came to pass by the way in the inn, that the Lord met him and sought to kill him." (Verse 24.) If a more serious matter did not present itself to the mind, one might pause to wonder at the mention of an *inn*, with the associations which that word has to us, transferred to a wilderness country. But a profounder amazement bids us ask, "How could the sacred writer ascribe to God such a wilful and capricious course as the words, *taken liter-*

ally, suggest to us?" God had furnished Moses with a high commission, and with commensurate authority. Did he then immediately lie in wait on the way for Moses, like an assassin, and try to kill him? Plain nonsense, or something much worse! Truly, in this case "the letter killeth." But happily Moses did not write our *English* sentence; nor did he write with such close literalisms of language. Plainly his meaning in this strange sentence is, that he became suddenly and dangerously sick; was smitten by disease; the hand of God struck him, and he thought that he should die. The difficulty is in the letter and in the imagery, and so it vanishes.

The most gross and offensive and every way shocking passage which is found in our English Bibles is one that is made so by a most unfortunate literalism of translation, thus changing a most sublime description of a Divine manifestation, itself a truly impressive and glowing passage in the original, into something which is perfectly foul and revolting. We would transcribe the passage at length, save that we are unwilling to be instrumental in printing another copy of it as it now stands. We therefore refer the reader to the closing part of Exodus xxxiii. Moses, trembling under the burden of a despondent mind, quailing before the tremendous task which confronts him, seeks for new supplies of Divine favor. He asks for an actual vision of God;—"I beseech thee show me thy glory." God replies: "Thou canst not see my face [i. e. me], for there shall no man see me and live." But the great Lawgiver is told that he shall be hid in the cleft of a rock, and as God's glory passes before him, in some sublime manifestation, he shall see *what follows after* God, i. e. the results. The next chapter offers a sublime fulfilment of the promise which closes this chapter. Moses on the next morning mounts the rocky cliffs of Horeb, and there "the Lord descended in the cloud and stood with him. And the Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed, The Lord, The Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth," &c., &c. And how was it with Moses, and what did he see, and how did the passing glory of the vision affect him? "He bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped," and

"when he came down from the mount, he wist not that the skin of his face shone while God talked with him," and he "put a veil on his face" when he talked with his brethren. Can the speech of men fashion a more befitting description of a divine manifestation than this Oriental imagery presents? We fear that our translators were for the moment left by a good Providence when they made such a distressing literalism in our text as that we have just referred to.

The same purpose of seeking beneath the letter and the imagery the real idea in the mind of a sacred writer, relieves very many perplexing passages in the Bible, and draws out many beauties and sublimities from it. Thus we may properly regard the description of Eden, with its first occupants, its serpent, and its forbidden fruit, as a more or less allegorical representation, teaching truth, not literally, but by figures and emblems. That Eve was formed from a rib of Adam, from something so close to his heart, *may* be an Oriental conception expressing the closeness, tenderness, and heart-nearness of the conjugal relation. The confusion of tongues at Babel *may* express the way in which men fall out and are discomfited when they plot together against the purposes of God. The pillar of a cloud by day and of fire by night, which guided the Israelites, *may* signify the camp-fire of Moses, which was a beacon to stragglers and to the long file of those whom he was leading through the wilderness. That their raiment and shoes did not "wax old" in the desert *may* not imply a miraculous preservation of the same articles, but a constant providential renewal of them. The falling of the walls of Jericho at the sound of trumpets does not preclude the agency of other instruments, of whose attacks the trumpet-blast was an accompaniment. That Samson's *strength* is ascribed to his unshorn locks, *may* signify rather the brain under his locks; so that when drunkenness overpowered his brain, and his locks might be shorn, his strength was crippled. The still, small voice which won the ear of the prophet *may* have been a gentle whisper addressed to his heart. We might multiply illustrations of the application of that principle which the rich imagery and rhetoric of the Oriental mind requires should be applied when we read the Bible.

Let it be distinctly understood, however, that this principle of interpretation is warranted and demanded by the laws of language, not sought as a subterfuge, or as a means of evading the miraculous : that element is still left secure in the Bible.

For, lastly, there are all those perplexities which arise from the air of marvel and of miracle which is diffused over the Bible, from its first to its last leaf. And what would any volume which professed to record a revelation from God, his messages and manifestations to men, and his peculiar dealings,—what would a book be which professed to address the soul of man, and to promise a future life, if it was wholly free from marvel and miracle? Such a book cannot be conceived of. What would it be? What would it be worth? In what respect would it differ from the books with which the world is filled? Indeed, that air of marvel and miracle is the very life of the Bible, the essential mark and test of its peculiar value, the ground of its priceless worth to us. The sole condition on which it increases our knowledge, or enlarges and lifts our faith, or cheers our duties, or ministers to our sorrows, or draws our spirits to the hope of heaven, or mingles a divine renewal with the corrupted stream of human life,—the sole condition of all these blessings wrought through the Bible is that we do heartily assent to its miraculous character and contents.

Such are the main sources of perplexity attending the Popular Use of the Bible, when set in the scale against its value, and such is the lightness of their weight to counterbalance its claims and its blessings. We have demanded and secured the Bible as a free book to all. Let us not treat it ill. The joy, the virtue, the hope of the world, all centre in it. We have nothing to put in its place,—nothing,—nothing. If we claim to use it, let us use it well. Wise and good men will watch over it. It has strong, it has sagacious friends. There are hearts that cherish it with an intensity of reverence and trust and love, such as nothing on this fleeting earth can win or hold. The eucharistic language of that Holy Book has consecrated its oracles, and connected a sweet and sacred power with its lessons of truth,—a power which we fail to feel from any modern oracle. That

Holy Book has been the record of too many families on this earth, written upon its few blank pages, to allow it to be ever subject to neglect or contempt among the children of the departed. "The memory of the dead has passed into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the companion and the consecration of his best moments; and all that there has ever been about him of the gentle, the pure, the penitent, and the good, speaks to him out of his Bible."*

Precious, beyond all measurement precious is the Bible! No age of time will outgrow it in this world; no antiquity will take the freshness from its leaves, or the sacred power from its lessons. The barbarous dialects of savage island-tribes have been reduced to regular written language, that the Bible may be translated into the tongue in which each man and woman is born. Those holy oracles will echo on their solemn, unceasing through centuries wrapped now in the dim shade of heart-distant future. The Bible will go with man, to follow him, wherever the shifting scenes of civilization, sin, and sorrow appear on the earth, to be his light, his law, and his hope. The aged will cherish it as the by-ace of their declining days. The young will learn from it that remembrance of God which shall gird and guard them in their perilous way. The mature in middle life, with the weight of the world upon them and its anxieties before them, will turn from the Bible, and will turn to again; will wonder over it, and doubt, and then believe to hesitate and marvel and trust it again. Precious, beyond amazing volume! The ark in the flood of ages! The bow of promise in a stormy sky! The seven-sealed book of seven-fold mystery, with vials and plagues flashing through its covenant of mercy! Blessed Book: mingled of heaven and of earth; containing words from the Holiest to the sinful! Built upon Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being its chief cornerstone. Through that Book shines the only beam of light, as from the open door of heaven, upon the heart of man, upon the home of man, upon the life of man, — or upon his grave.

G. E. E.

* Quoted memoriter from Father Faber's *Lives of the Saints*.

ART. II.—THE VALLEY OF THE AMAZON.*

THE social and political condition of the South American states has long been an object of interest to this government. Passing through an historical experience in some respects resembling our own, they have cast off all allegiance as European colonies; and though they have not been altogether successful in establishing law and order on a firm basis, they have steadfastly maintained their independence. At the same time, our commercial relations with them have always been more or less intimate, and have greatly multiplied within the present generation. With the growth and advancement of our power upon the Pacific shore, these relations must still further increase in magnitude and importance; and the advantages to be derived from the possession of accurate information in regard to these countries will constantly be more obvious. It was with the view of enlarging our knowledge on all those points which affect their interests, and in accordance with the wise and our decided policy which has for many years guided the administration of the two Departments of War and Navy, that Lieutenant Herndon was detached from the Pacific Squadron, and directed to undertake a thorough exploration of the valley of the Amazon. "The government desires," said Secretary Graham in his letter of instructions, "to be put in possession of certain information relating to the valley of the river Amazon, in which information is included the entire basin, or watershed, drained by that river and its tributaries." And "this desire," it was added, "extends not only to the present condition of that valley with regard to the navigability of its streams; to the number and condition, both industrial and social, of its inhabitants, their trade and products; its climate, soil, and productions; but also to its capacities for cultivation, and to the character and extent of

* 32d Congress, 2d Session. Senate. Executive, No. 36.—*Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon, made under Direction of the Navy Department.* By WM. LEWIS HERNDON and LARDNER GIBSON, Lieutenants United States Navy. Part I. By LIEUT. HERNDON. [With Plates and a separate Volume of Maps.] Washington: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer. 1863. 8vo. pp. 414.

its undeveloped commercial resources, whether of the field, the forest, the river, or the mine." *

In pursuance of these instructions, Mr. Herndon, after making various preliminary inquiries in regard to the best route, started from Lima, on the 21st of May, 1851, accompanied by Passed Midshipman Gibbon, designated by the Navy Department to assist him in the exploration, a young man named Richards from one of the American ships of war in Callao, a young Peruvian to act as interpreter, and a muleteer. Their equipment was of the simplest character, comprising only those things necessary for the success of the expedition, such as cloth, hatchets, looking-glasses, and cheap trinkets for trading with the Indians, provisions, and a few other articles.

"Our bedding," says Mr. Herndon, "consisted of the saddle-cloths, a stout blanket, and anything else that could be packed in the India-rubber bag. An Englishman from New Holland, whom I met in Lima, gave me a coverlet made of the skins of a kind of raccoon, which served me many a good turn; and often, when in the Cordillera I wrapped myself in its warm folds, I felt a thrill of gratitude for the thoughtful kindness which had provided me with such a comfort. We purchased thick flannel shirts, *ponchos*, of India-rubber, wool, and cotton, and had straw-hats covered with oil-cloth, and fitted with green veils, to protect our eyes from the painful affections which often occur by the sudden bursting out of the sunlight upon the masses of snow that lie for ever upon the mountain-tops.

"We carried two small kegs, — one containing brandy, for drinking, and the other, the common rum of the country, called *Ron de Quemar*, for burning; also, some coarse knives, forks, spoons, tin cups and plates. I did not carry, as I should have done, a few cases of preserved meat, sardines, cheese, &c., which would have given us a much more agreeable meal than we often got on the road; but I did carry, in the India-rubber bags, quite a large quantity of biscuit, which I had baked in Lima, which served a very good purpose, and lasted us to Tarma.

"... Our guns, in leathern cases, were slung to the crupper, and the pistols carried in holsters, made with large pockets, to carry powder-flasks, percussion caps, specimens that we might pick up on the road, &c. A small box of instruments for skinning birds and dissecting animals; a medicine-chest, containing, among other things, some arsenical soap for preserving

skins; a few reams of coarse paper for drying leaves and plants; chart-paper, in a tin case; passports and other papers, also in a tin case; note-books, pencils, &c., — completed our outfit. A chest was made with compartments for the sextant, artificial horizon, boiling-point apparatus, camera lucida, and 'spy-glass. The chronometer was carried in the pocket, and the barometer, slung in a leathern case made for it, at the saddle-bow of Mr. Gibbon's mule." — pp. 40, 41.

Proceeding leisurely back from the coast, our travellers crossed the Andes, on the 2d of June, at a height of sixteen thousand feet, and, continuing across the eastern chain, reached Tarma on the 6th of the same month, where they remained for several days. Here Mr. Hern- don, judging that the objects of his undertaking could be better accomplished by dividing his small party, gave Mr. Gibbon instructions to proceed in a southeasterly direction with Mr. Richards, and examine the branches of the Amazon which have their head-waters to the south and east of Cuzco.* The route which he determined to follow in person, with Don Manuel Ijurra, the young Peruvian before referred to, lay in a northerly direction up the river Huallaga to the Amazon.

Tarma is beautifully situated on the eastern slopes of the Andes, in the centre of a great mining district, and is a place of considerable importance, containing seven thousand inhabitants. The houses are built of unburnt bricks, with floors of gypsum, and are roofed with tiles. Some of them are "partially papered, and carpeted with common Scotch carpeting. Most of them have *patios*, or inclosed squares, within, and some of them flat roofs, with a parapet around them, where maize, peas, beans, and such things, are placed in the sun to dry." † The climate is represented as being very healthful, and the physician has not sufficient practice for his support without aid from the government. As in most South American towns, the people are very fond of religious festivals, and seek every opportunity of gratifying this taste. The priests are generally of low standing, and

* We shall look with much interest for the supplementary report, containing an account of the explorations of Mr. Gibbon, as it will doubtless throw considerable new light on the condition and resources of this part of South America.

† Page 71.

are spoken of with great contempt by the educated classes; but Mr. Herndon thinks the missionaries and monks are of a better character, and on several occasions he speaks of them with great respect. The market is tolerably good, and provisions are sold at a low price; but our author was not able to obtain much information in regard to the agriculture of this part of Peru. He, however, gives a brief account of one farm which he visited. He says:—

“We rode about a league down the valley which leads to Chanchamayo, to the farm of General Otero, to whom we brought letters from Mr. Prevost, and Pasquel, Bishop of Eretrea. We found this farm a different sort of an affair from anything we had hitherto seen in this way in our travels. This is in a high state of cultivation, well inclosed with mud walls, and in beautiful order. The General—a good-looking, farmer-like old gentleman—met us with great cordiality, and showed us over the premises. He has a very large house, with all the necessary offices attached, which he built himself. Indeed, he said he had made the farm; for when he purchased it, it was a stony and desolate place, and he had expended much time, labor, and money on it. There were two gardens; one for vegetables and fruit, and one for flowers. They were both in fine order. The fruits were peaches of various kinds, apples, strawberries, almonds, and some few grapes. The flowers were principally roses, pinks, pansies, jessamines, and geraniums. There were a few exotics, under bell-glasses. Both fruit and flowers were of rather indifferent quality, but much better than one would expect to see in so elevated and cold a situation. The nights here, particularly in the early morning, are quite cold.

“This is the harvest season, and the General was gathering his crop of maize. About twenty peons or laborers were bringing it in from the fields, and throwing it down in piles in a large court-yard, while boys and women were engaged in *shucking* it. In one corner of the square, under a snug little shed attached to one of the barns, with stone seats around it, sat the General's three daughters, sewing, and probably superintending the ‘shucking.’ They were fair, sweet-looking girls. The General had a tray of glasses, with some *Italia* (a cordial made of a Muscatel grape that grows in the province of Ica, and hence called Ica brandy) and paper cigars, brought out for us; and the whole concern had a home look that was quite pleasing.” — pp. 74, 75.

Previously to dividing his party and taking final leave of Tarma, Mr. Herndon made a short excursion to Fort

San Ramon, on the borders of the Montaña, or elevated table-land which forms the greater portion of Eastern Peru. This immense tract of country is mostly in its natural state, and is occupied by numerous savage tribes more or less hostile to the whites. But there are several small settlements of whites and partially civilized Indians scattered over it; and some parts have been brought under cultivation. From the 1st of March to the 1st of September the climate is agreeable; but during the rest of the year heavy rains are of frequent occurrence, though it does not seem that vegetation is injured by them. The principal product of the country is the sugar-cane, which is cultivated with much success. Three crops of maize, or Indian corn, are obtained in a year. Coca, coffee, cotton, pine-apples, and plantains are also produced, — and some of them of superior quality. Few cattle are raised, partly from the want of good grazing lands, and partly from other causes which are not very well understood. At present it is clear that the resources of the country have scarcely begun to be developed. But it is also clear, from Mr. Herndon's report and from the accounts of previous explorations, that this part of Peru is capable of sustaining a vast population, is naturally of a rich soil, with considerable mineral treasures, and that it would become the seat of much trade, if its rivers were opened, and more of wisdom and energy were infused into the administration of its domestic affairs.

Upon his return to Tarma, Mr. Herndon took leave of his companions and directed his own course northerly along the Andes to Cerro Pasco, the most important mining district in Peru. The soil in this place is penetrated in every direction by the excavations, and it is estimated that the silver produced from them amounts to two millions of dollars yearly, — a sum nearly equal in value to the product of all the other silver mines in the country. The climate of the place is disagreeable and unhealthful; and as there is but little land under cultivation, the cost of living is very high. Mr. Herndon says of it:—

“The population varies from six to fifteen thousand souls, according to the greater or less yield of the mines. Most of the adult part of this population are, of course, engaged in mining. This seems to be a calling that distorts much the moral percep-

tion, and engenders very confused ideas of right and wrong. The lust of money-making seems to have swallowed up all the finer feelings of the heart, and cut off all the amenities of society. There are no ladies, — at least I saw none in society; and the men meet to discuss the mines, the probable price of quicksilver, and to slander and abuse each other. There seems to be no religion here even in form. The churches are mere barns going to decay; and I saw no processions or religious ceremonies. Smyth saw a procession in 1834, but I should doubt if there had been one of these contemptible mockeries since. Not that the people are growing better, but that their love of gain is swallowing up even their love of display. Rivero speaks of the wretched condition of society, and tells of drunkenness, gaming, assassination, and bad faith, as of things of common occurrence." — pp. 111, 112.

Leaving this hopeful community, and passing through a rich agricultural country, which affords a pleasing contrast to the mining districts, our author embarked upon the Huallaga River on the 4th of August, with two canoes manned by Indians. His course lay for most of the way through a country of great natural advantages, but occupied by half-civilized Indians and whites, whose lazy habits,

"void of toil,
Demanding little, and with little pleased,"

have led them to neglect all attempts to improve the navigation of the river, or increase their trade with other places. Easily procuring the few necessities of life, most of them are satisfied with this, though some have labored with a wise energy to improve the present condition of the country, and to open new sources of wealth. The principal places on the Huallaga before its junction with the Amazon are Tocache, Sion, Juan Juy, Tarapoto, and Chasuta; but they are all of them small towns, with little trade and less enterprise. Slavery is prohibited by law in Peru; but it has a virtual existence there from the universal custom of not hiring a *tapuio* when he is in debt to his patron. These debts are generally contracted for supplies furnished by the patron at an exorbitant price; and the tacit acknowledgment of his right to the service of the debtor really reduces the latter to almost hopeless bondage. Young Indians are also sometimes sold into slavery, and this practice is tolerated

on the ground that they are thus Christianized and brought within the pale of the Church.

On the 4th of September our traveller entered the Amazon, and, prosecuting his voyage slowly down this great river, reached Pará, at its mouth, on the 12th of the following April. This portion of his report fills about two hundred pages, and is replete with variety and interest; but a detailed analysis of it would occupy more pages than we can now devote to the subject. It will be sufficient, however, for our present object, to give a general account of the results obtained, with a few additional extracts from the most attractive parts. The country through which he passed is one of the finest in the world, abundantly watered by large and navigable streams, and sustaining a vegetation unrivalled for richness and variety. We quote from Mr. Herndon a part of his account of its natural productions, which fully sustains the glowing descriptions of previous writers:—

“There is scarcely any attempt at the regular cultivation of the earth in all the province of Amazonas; but the natural productions of its soil are most varied and valuable. In the forest are twenty-three well-known varieties of palms, all more or less useful. From the piassaba bark (called by Humboldt the *chiquichiqui* palm) is obtained cordage which I think quite equal in quality to the *coir* of India. From the leaves of the *tucum* are obtained the fibres of which all the hammocks of the country are made. Roofs of houses thatched with the gigantic leaves of the *bussu* will last more than ten years. The seed of the *urucuri* and *inaja* are found to make the best fires for smoking India-rubber; and most of the palms give fruit which is edible in some shape or other.

“Of trees fitted for nautical constructions there are twenty-two kinds; for the construction of houses and boats, thirty-three; for cabinet-work, twelve (some of which—such as the *jacarandá*, the *mutirapinima*, or tortoise-shell wood, and the *macacauba*—are very beautiful); and for making charcoal, seven.” — p. 285.

There are twelve kinds which exude a peculiar liquid or milk used for poisoning arrows, and for medicinal and other purposes. Of these the most important is the *seringa*, from the milk of which India-rubber is made. Mr. Herndon visited an establishment for the collection and sale of this important article, and has given quite an

interesting description of the process of manufacture. He says:—

“The process of making it is as follows; a longitudinal gash is made in the bark of the tree, with a very narrow hatchet or tomahawk; a wedge of wood is inserted to keep the gash open, and a small clay cup is stuck to the tree beneath the gash. The cups may be stuck as close together as possible around the tree. In four or five hours, the milk has ceased to run, and each wound has given from three to five tablespoonfuls. The gatherer then collects it from the cups, takes it to his rancho, pours it into an earthen vessel, and commences the operation of forming it into shape and smoking it. This must be done at once, as the milk soon coagulates.

“A fire is made on the ground of the seed of [the] nuts of a palm-tree, of which there are two kinds: one called urucari, the size of a pigeon's egg, though longer; and the other inajá, which is smaller. An earthen pot, with the bottom knocked out, is placed, mouth down, over the fire, and a strong, pungent smoke from the burning seeds comes up through the aperture in the bottom of the inverted pot.

“The maker of the rubber now takes his last, if he is making shoes, or his mould, which is fastened to the end of a stick; pours the milk over it with a cup, and passes it slowly several times through the smoke until it is dry. He then pours on the other coats, until he has the required thickness; smoking each coating until it is dry.

“Moulds are made either of clay or wood; if of wood, it is smeared with clay to prevent the adhesion of the milk. When the rubber has the required thickness, the moulds are either cut out or washed out.

“Smoking changes the color of the rubber very little. After it is prepared, it is nearly as white as milk, and gets its color from age.

“The most common form of the India-rubber of commerce is that of a thick bottle; though it is also frequently made in thick sheets, by pouring the milk over a wooden mould, shaped like a spade, and when it has a coating sufficiently thick, passing a knife around three sides of it, and taking out the mould. I should think this the least troublesome form, and the most convenient for transportation.

“From twenty to forty coats make a pair of shoes. The soles and heels are, of course, given more coats than the body of the shoe. The figures on the shoes are made by tracing them on the rubber whilst soft, with a coarse needle or bit of wire. This is done in two days after the coating. In a week the shoes are taken from the last. The coating occupies about twenty-five minutes.

"An industrious man is able to make sixteen pounds of rubber a day; but the collectors are not industrious. I heard a gentleman in Para say that they rarely average more than three or four pounds.

"The tree is tall, straight, and has a smooth bark. It sometimes reaches a diameter of eighteen inches or more. Each incision makes a rough wound on the tree, which, although it does not kill it, renders it useless, because a smooth place is required to which to attach the cups. The milk is white and tasteless, and may be taken into the stomach with impunity.

"The rubber is frequently much adulterated by the addition of tapioca or sand, to increase its weight; and, unless care is taken in the manufacture, it will have many cells containing air and water. Water is seen to exude from nearly all of it when cut, which is always done for the purpose of examination before purchase. I brought home some specimens that were more than half mud." — pp. 330, 331.

Besides the natural products already enumerated, nearly all the fruits and other products of the torrid zone are indigenous or may be easily cultivated. Considerable quantities of sugar, coffee, and cocoa are raised; and much of the land seems peculiarly adapted for the growth of rice. The rivers abound with fish of various kinds; and the forests are stocked with game. Birds of the most beautiful plumage, monkeys of every variety and color, and other animals, scarcely to be found elsewhere, are also seen there in their full perfection. "No language," says Mrs. Somerville, "can describe the glory of the forests of the Amazons and Brazil, the endless variety of form, the contrasts of color and size: there even the largest trees bear brilliant blossoms; scarlet, purple, blue, rose color, and golden-yellow are blended with every possible shade of green."* Through these magnificent forests of ever-fresh vegetation flow the Amazon and its tributaries, draining a country ten times as large as France, and affording even greater facilities for trade than the Mississippi and its branches.

Yet the commerce at present carried on upon the river is insignificant in value and amount, and is prosecuted under many disadvantages. The numerous settlements which our author visited are mostly small, and inhabited by people of little energy of character and with little

* *Physical Geography* (Am. ed.), p. 277.

wish to elevate their condition. There has, however, been a considerable increase in their trade within the last ten years. But we have no means of forming an exact estimate of its present value, or of its relative gain, as Mr. Herndon was able to obtain fewer statistics than could be desired. His meteorological observations were very full and valuable, and his chart of the Amazon, and those of its tributaries which he ascended, is admirably minute and clear. But the difficulty of obtaining reliable information on some other points must be a sufficient apology for the absence of statistical tables of the population and trade of the different places on the river. He obtained some valuable tables, however, in regard to the trade of Pará and one or two other places. By these statements we find that in 1846 the exports from the United States to Pará amounted to \$235,105, and in 1851 they had risen in value to \$425,484; thus showing a gain of more than eighty per cent. in five years. In 1846 our imports thence amounted to \$182,742; in 1851 they were \$476,210, or a gain of more than one hundred and sixty per cent. If our trade with a single place at the mouth of the Amazon shows so great an expansion within this brief period, it is scarcely possible to overestimate its value when this whole great basin shall be opened to our commerce, and the eastern part of Peru shall thus be brought into more direct communication with this country.

According to the larger map accompanying Mr. Herndon's volume, the Amazon is navigable as far as Santiago, at the very foot of the Andes, and a considerable distance above the point at which his survey commenced. For most of the distance, the river is of great width and of unusual depth, and little expense would be required in improving the channel. Between the frontier of Peru and the ocean the principal places are Egas, Barra, at the mouth of the Rio Negro, Obidos, Santarem, and Gurupá, all of which are centres of communication with the surrounding districts. Their aggregate population is small, consisting of civilized Indians and whites. Our author gives us but little information in regard to their social, intellectual, and religious condition. But it is doing little injustice to say, that most of them are ignorant, uncultivated, and superstitious. Yet so far as the

priests exert an influence, it is doubtless wholesome in restraining their rough passions, and inducing them to lead more active lives. Money is scarce, and not sought for, as it is among more civilized people. Indeed, in some of the small places it seems to have hardly any value. The houses are rudely built and poorly furnished; and on the whole, the social condition of the people must be regarded as very low.

Such must necessarily be the case so long as Brazil continues to pursue her narrow policy in regard to the free navigation of the Amazon. For her own interest, in developing the resources of her immense territory, this policy should be forsaken; since it is evident that her people have not sufficient ambition and energy to do for themselves what needs to be done. Vast tracts of rich land are lying uncultivated by man, because they are not occupied by people of vigorous and active characters, anxious to raise their children to a condition in life better than their own, and because there are no means of cheap and convenient communication with the great marts of the world. To Peru the free navigation of the Amazon would be of incalculable advantage. Much the larger portion of her territory lies east of the Andes, and communicates with the ocean only across lofty mountains of difficult and often dangerous passage. Yet her soil is drained by the grandest river system in the world, and vessels loaded on the Atlantic might penetrate the interior of the country, and discharge their cargoes almost at the foot of the Andes.

To other nations, and especially to the United States, the opening of the Amazon would also prove of great advantage. It would furnish new employment for our vessels, and introduce new consumers of our manufactured products. Though the demand for coarse goods for exportation to South America is by no means small, it would be vastly enhanced by bringing the inhabitants of this great valley and of the eastern parts of Peru into direct contact with American enterprise. It should be the settled policy of this government at all times to develop our internal resources to their fullest extent, and to open new channels of foreign commerce for the disposal of our surplus productions. Far wiser will it be for us, by a righteous dealing with delicate questions at home and

by avoiding intermeddling with the domestic politics of other countries, to use every endeavor to increase our prosperity, power, and wealth as a nation, by a wise domestic legislation and by peaceful negotiations with other states. Two great objects are beginning to force themselves upon the attention of this generation, — the construction of a chain of railroads between our Atlantic and Pacific borders, and the acquisition of the free navigation of the Amazon by an honorable treaty; and both are worthy of serious consideration. In the accomplishment of these objects, we shall almost double our foreign and domestic trade, and the most ardent and hopeful advocates of progress may find sufficient employment for their young energies, without violating our constitutional obligations through a mistaken sense of duty, or departing from the settled policy of the founders of our government at every call of a rampant patriotism.

We cannot take leave of Mr. Herndon's volume without expressing the gratification we have derived from its perusal. Though not marked by those qualities which we are accustomed to demand in a practised writer, the style is simple and perspicuous; and the variety and extent of information contained in it show how faithfully the writer performed the duty assigned him. In every respect the work is highly creditable to that arm of the public service which has already undertaken so many enterprises for the benefit of science and the commercial interests of the country.

C. C. S.

ART. III. — MISS MARTINEAU'S COMPEND OF COMTE'S
POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY.*

It is but a few years since a review of Comte's original work appeared in this journal,† and to that we refer the reader who wishes to see an abstract of the contents of that bulky and unwieldy publication. We notice the

* *The Positive Philosophy of AUGUSTE COMTE, freely translated and condensed by HARRIET MARTINEAU.* London: John Chapman. 1853. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 480, 561.

† *Christian Examiner* for March, 1851.

present translation, partly because we wish to add a few words upon the inexhaustible topic of the book, and partly because a respectful notice is due to the labors of one who so long time held an honored position among the writers of our own denomination.

We must, however, confess that Miss Martineau's writings were never to our individual liking; and that in the Preface to this translation her style is less to our taste than ever. The Preface opens with a gratuitous charge of hypocrisy brought against all those who are making substantial additions to human knowledge. She declares there is "no doubt in the minds of students of his [Comte's] great work, that most or all of those who have added substantially to our knowledge for many years past, are fully acquainted with it, and are under obligations to it which they would have thankfully acknowledged, but for the fear of offending the prejudices of the society in which they live." "Whichever way we look," she adds, "over the whole field of science, we see the truths and ideas presented by Comte cropping out from the surface, and tacitly recognized as the foundation of all that is systematic in our knowledge."

Now this language appears to us to assert but two things, and both assertions are false. It asserts that Science is indebted to Comte; whereas, he can at most claim only to have benefited Philosophy. Miss Martineau appears to think that the "truths and ideas" which Comte recognizes in Science, have been by him presented to Science. Her error in regard to Comte is the same as the error of historians, and men of letters in general, with regard to Bacon, when they attribute to Bacon an influence over physics which in fact he has exerted only over metaphysics. Comte and Bacon are philosophers and critics of a movement which neither of them fully comprehend, and to which neither of them give direct aid.

The second assertion in the language which we have quoted from Miss Martineau's Preface is, that scientific men conceal, through fear of shocking prejudices, their obligation to Comte. As they are under no obligations to him, they cannot conceal them; but, waiving this point, the grave charge of hypocrisy, thus gratuitously brought against men of science, is a moral offence, a wholesale slander, condemned by the spirit of Comte's philoso-

phy as distinctly as by the precepts of Jesus; and its utterance shows that Comte's neophyte has not yet passed the full term of her novitiate.

The Preface closes with several pages of eulogy on Science, very edifying from one whose whole tone of mind, to judge from her previous works, betrays a lack of scientific training. She says that theologians and metaphysicians are no judges of the work. But Comte himself says, "We may talk for ever about the [Positive] method, and state it in terms very wisely, without knowing half so much about it as the man who has once put it in practice upon a single particular of actual research, even without any philosophical intention." By Comte's own rule, therefore, there are many theologians better qualified to judge of his critique on Science than Miss Martineau can claim to be.

Miss Martineau's translation and condensation is, we presume, well done. We have not taken the pains to make a direct comparison with the original, but, so far as our recollection serves, she preserves all the essential ideas of the author, and she certainly presents them in a dress much more attractive than that of the interminable sentences of the original,—in every phrase newly guarded against misconstruction, qualified, and qualified anew.

We deny, *in toto*, the great law of Comte, that each individual, and the race, passes through the three states of *theological*, *metaphysical*, and *positive*, and assert that his conception of this law has led him to a misconception of every subject of Science, from Geometry up to Sociology.

We deny the law. It does not hold in the case of individuals, nor of the race. The true law, which Comte so constantly misrepresents under the form of his three successive stages, is simply the law of successive development. The theological state is first developed, but it remains even when the positive state is reached. It appears otherwise to Comte only through the accident of his living in France, and to Miss Martineau through the misfortunes of her personal history, which she has revealed to us in her publications following that of her "*Life in a Sick-Room*." There are examples, scattered throughout the world, of persons who, by nervous disease or inherited idiosyncrasy, are destitute of religious faith; but their opinions have no more weight in showing the non-exist-

ence of religious truths, than cases of Daltonism in showing the non-existence of colors, or cases of blindness in showing the non-existence of light.

According to Comte's own statement, man must first of all judge all beings by himself. He cannot conceive of that of which he has no consciousness. Hence he attributes the mental and moral powers of his own nature to all beings about him. This is his first philosophical movement, and from the very fact that he has done nothing further, he thinks he has done all things. But in the course of his analysis of himself, he arrives at the conception of causes, and again mistakes the knowledge attained for the whole attainable. This is Comte's metaphysical state. Thirdly, he arrives, still by the action of consciousness, at the conception of law as the embodiment of design,—and this is the positive state. The theological view is not denied, but simply modified by the development of the other ideas; simply modified;—so far from being denied or outgrown, it is not even limited. It is modified, by being shown to be incomplete. This is the true view, we think, of Comte's law. Its importance and uniqueness have been much exaggerated by him. We might readily show that other conceptions besides those of God and of cause have been, when first developed, considered the *ultimatum* and crowning glory of philosophy,—able to explain all things. Comte himself asserts that the mathematicians have boasted that all things must come under their sway. Chemists, for a time, thought that they would be able to bring all the processes of vegetative and animal life under the laws of Chemistry. Electricity, also, was once considered the final principle. Phrenology thought it could explain all mental phenomena. Thus every new conception has for a time had an exaggerated importance in the eyes of those who hold it; and its field has gradually been defined by the labors of those who sought to analyze it and discover the laws to the knowledge of which it led. As well, therefore, might we say that Chemistry caused the Mathematics to be forgotten, or that Electricity banished Chemistry, as that Theology gave place to Metaphysics, and Metaphysics to Science. It is not true, historically, that a belief in God is passing away from men's minds. And it is not true of individuals, that mind always takes a

theological turn first. We know, in our private acquaintance, of men whose perceptive faculties are large, and whose early education was scientific in the positive sense, and not religious, but who passed, of their own accord, out of this state into a spiritual faith.

We have no disposition to deny that Comte has a large acquaintance with physical science. But he asks for faith, not as a scientific man, but as a philosopher, building his system upon Science. Now, we are so far from assenting to his philosophy, that we think, as we have before said, that his philosophic prejudice has made him misconceive every science from the least to the greatest. It limits and perverts his Hierarchy of Science, and also each science of which it is composed.

His Hierarchy of Science excludes his own course of Philosophy, and condemns it as vain. Neither Mathesis, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Physiology, nor Social Physics, recognizes a place for Philosophy or Logic. The "Philosophy" of Comte, and the "Logic" of Mill, are thus both excluded from the Hierarchy of Science. It is said that Comte has himself constructed a "Positive Morals" and "Positive Religion," but these, we presume, are but branches of his Sociology. Religion, and Ethics in their usual sense, are excluded from the subjects of human knowledge by his definition of Science, as the study of the "laws of the semblance and succession of phenomena."

We might take up the physical sciences in detail, and show that this rejection of the data given by consciousness vitiates his conception of each one. The Mathematics, for example, are defined as the science of "indirect measurement of magnitudes, which proposes to determine magnitudes by each other, according to the precise relations which exist between them." The discussion of this definition shows that he considers magnitudes as material substances, and measurement as the determination of numerical ratios. Space is treated as a mere abstraction, and lines and surfaces are defined as threads and films of matter. According to this, every proposition in Geometry would be untrue in letter, like Leibnitz's presentation of the Calculus. In short, M. Comte, in his scorn of metaphysic conceptions, has mistaken the language of Mathesis for its substance, and defined the

science from the poverty of its methods, instead of the richness of its field,—just as he might have defined Botany in Linnæus's day as the science of artificial classification, instead of the science of plants. Space and time present to us unnumbered problems and theorems which, in their natural form, are not questions of measurement direct or indirect, but require great ingenuity and skill to reduce them to the artificial form of equation.

We might, did the purpose of this journal justify us in such abstract discussions, follow M. Comte through the whole extent of Mathesis, and show that the same dwarfing spirit of materialism influences his judgment of each portion of it.

In Astronomy the same error prevails. Because the stars require infinitesimal observations, and seem beyond human reach, our author puts Stellar Astronomy upon his *index expurgatorius*, and thinks we can never get any real knowledge from beyond the limits of the solar system. Scarcely was his prophecy published, when that splendid series of stellar discoveries began which constitutes one of the chief glories of the Astronomy of to-day,—the determination of the distances of fixed stars, the period of the revolution of binary stars, the resolution of obstinate nebulæ, and Maedler's magnificent approximation towards a theory of the motions of the milky way,—a first approximation only, but enough to show that the problem is within the limits of Positive Science, and will one day be solved.

When we come into Physics and Chemistry, the same error of limiting science through his materialistic prejudices shows itself in his elaborate ridicule of the doctrine of an ether, and of undulations,—doctrines which each successive year is establishing more firmly upon the bases of positive facts.

In like manner we find him in Biology attempting to exclude consciousness from the sources of our knowledge; reducing all our knowledge of mental phenomena to the observation of men's actions, and the form and anatomy of their brains. The absurdity of this is too great even for Mr. Mill. It is true that the metaphysicians of the world have committed the errors with which M. Comte charges them,—of neglecting the study of the brain and of the actions of man,—of despising the com-

parisons to be drawn between the intellect of insane persons, children, animals, and the healthy mind of the adult. But it is equally true that he falls into a still greater error, when he supposes that any of these things can be interpreted without the aid of consciousness. He cannot so much as know that there is another man in existence, without depending on what he calls the theological ground of attributing to other beings the powers of which he himself is conscious. He cannot enter upon any criticism whatever of science or religion, without using the very same abstract notions which he condemns under the name of metaphysical entities.

Seeing, therefore, that Comte's fictitious law of three successive stages has dwarfed and perverted his view of every science in his own hierarchy, and led him into positive scientific errors in Astronomy, Physics, and Biology, as well as philosophic errors in Mathematics, we must expect to find his view of History, or what he calls Sociology, perverted in the same manner. Possessing sufficient largeness of view to give an admirable criticism of the history of Western Europe from the earliest times, he nevertheless, from the narrowness of his prejudices against religion and metaphysics, mistakes the modifications of Theology for its decay; and, having thus decided that Christianity is dying a natural death, naturally takes no notice whatever of its evidences. His error here is quite analogous to one which he adduces as an illustration of another point;—when he supposes a man to argue from the fact that men eat less in proportion to their civilization, to the conclusion that the time will come when they will not eat at all. He admits that men must of necessity begin with theological belief, and that it is with extreme difficulty that he himself excludes it in every form from his own mind. What absurdity, therefore, it is, to suppose it to be a temporary element in humanity.

It is true that M. Comte repels the charge of Atheism, and declares his philosophy to aim, not at a denial of God's existence, but only of our power to recognize his Being, if he exists. Yet, with strange inconsistency, he constantly reiterates the assertion, that the discovery of law excludes the dominion of will, human or divine. That is, he dogmatizes upon the very point on which he most strenuously denies our power to gain any

knowledge. While professing to hold Atheism and Theism in equal contempt, as states of mind which he has outgrown, he nevertheless continually renews the statement that the discovery of the laws of science excludes belief in God. If this be not Atheism, there is no such phase of mind possible.

M. Comte's whole position is based on his denial of the value of consciousness. Hence his reduction of Theology to a temporary phase of human error. Hence, also, his denial of causes, since the conception of causation can only come from the consciousness of volition. Hence, also, in logical consistence, he ought to deny the existence of forces, and not only to object to the word *attraction* of gravitation, but also to the word *gravitation* itself; since that implies force, and all that science can deal with is motion. He indeed alludes to this change of Rational Mechanics into Geometry, but without apparently perceiving that the change is imperatively demanded by his own system of "positivity." In strict "positive science" Analytical Mechanics must give way to "Kinematics," as illustrated by Sir William Rowan Hamilton's celebrated paper on Light. Comte's remarks, therefore, on the activity of matter, are a relapse, by this exponent of "positive science," into the primitive theological state of Fetichism; an utter forsaking of his primal stand of rejecting the interpretation of consciousness.

He is more consistent with himself in asserting that the discovery of a law is the exclusion of will, human and divine, and therefore less consistent with truth and reason. Any man of common sense can see that the discovery of law is the surest evidence of the presence of thought, and that Positive Science, in discovering the unity of law in the universe, only exalts Theology by giving clearer and juster views of the Thought that guides material phenomena by the laws of space and time. It has been said that the commonplaces of Natural Theology are out of place in the discussion of Comte's system; but this is a mistake,—the common arguments are the invulnerable ones which settle the whole matter. It were an easy, though a tedious task, to follow him through his huge volumes, and show how every point, from Mathematics to History, suffers at his hands through his sensational prejudice. But there is no need, since the

whole rests on his single enormous error of rejecting consciousness as one basis of knowledge. Agree with him in this rejection, and you are logically forced to reduce all science to a classification of phenomena, to deny the existence of causes, and the existence of any other intelligence or life in the universe than that which resides in your own body; in short, you are forced to a universal *reductio ad absurdum*. The very fact of your supposing there is any one to argue with you, shows you have quit your ground.

But admit the validity of this argument from consciousness, admit that you can logically arrive at the conviction that other men have minds like your own, and you are then logically forced to admit the Being of God, — God in no pantheistic sense, as a Universal Substance, or Principle of action, — but God as a Creator and Governor of the universe, a Being whose thoughts are the laws of science, expressed in the phenomena of earth and heaven.

And if our belief in Revelation is true, (there being no logical hinderance to examining its evidences, when once the truly scientific view of God is attained,) then we must expect and desire the day whose advent is predicted by Comte, in which all the laws of morality will be re-established by a scientific view of the human constitution and human history. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the reality of the revelation in the Gospel, than the sublimity of its morals when tested by the increasing knowledge of our day. There can be no doubt in the mind of a scientific man, that the scientific method will finally achieve all the triumphs predicted by Comte, except that of destroying religious faith. But when science has thus brought its strength to the task of indorsing upon every moral law a certificate of identity with natural law, (as it has already indorsed, for example, the laws of chastity and temperance,) the precepts of Jesus will have gained, not lost, in weight and power.

T. H.

ART. IV. — TO A DEAD TREE, WITH A VINE TRAINED
OVER IT.

THE dead tree bears ; — each dried-up bough
With leaves is overgrown,
And wears a living drapery now
Of verdure not its own.

The worthless stock a use has found,
The unsightly branch a grace ;
As climbing first, then dropped around,
The green shoots interlace.

So round that Grecian mystic rod
To Hermes' hand assigned, —
The emblem of a helping god, —
First leaves, then serpents, twined.

In thee a holier sign I view
Than in Hebrew rods of power ;
Whether they to a serpent grew,
Or budded into flower.

This Vine, but for thy mournful prop,
Would ne'er have learned the way
Thy ruined height to overtop,
And mantle thy decay.

O thou, my Soul, thus train thy thought
By Sorrow's barren aid !
Deck with the charms that Faith has brought
The blights that Time has made.

On all that is remediless
Still hang thy gentle veils ;
And make thy charities a dress,
When other foliage fails.

The sharp, bare points of mortal lot
With kindly growths o'erspread ; —
Some blessing on what pleases not,
Some life on what is dead.

N. L. F.

ART. V. — THE HEBREW PROPHETS.*

WE give below the titles of two works which will be found about as accessible and convenient guides as any to the more recent exposition of Hebrew Prophecy. The services of Ewald in this and in kindred departments of criticism have been characterized in a recent number of this journal,† in terms to which we have little to add at the present time. The work before us consists of a translation of the Prophets (excepting Daniel), in sections arranged after the author's own chronology; together with notes sufficiently copious, an Introduction on the function of Prophecy in general, and special prefaces to the several books or chapters,—some of them being of much interest and value. The work of Knobel is the one most frequently referred to in the department which he chiefly treats, that is, the antiquarianism of the subject. It consists of a series of essays somewhat dry and prolix, but having, we suppose, the merit of telling all there is to be told in the author's particular line of investigation.

To the weary discussions of this latter we are indebted in part, and in part to the curious and suggestive preface of Ewald, for what we have to say. We esteem it also our duty, in this connection, to refer to the volume of excellent sermons recently published by Professor Maurice, under the title, "The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament." As the most recent work in English on the subject, of any fulness, it will afford valuable glimpses and hints towards a true comprehension of the period under review, especially in respect of its religious character. The intellectual subtilty and skill of its author, together with the pliancy and breadth of his religious sympathies, are here exhibited in a very favorable light. But his purpose might easily be mistaken from his title. The salient points of history he uses as texts, not for

* 1. *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes, erklärt von HEINRICH EWALD.* [*The Prophets of the Old Testament expounded.*] Stuttgart. 1840, 1841. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 404, 572.

2. *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer, vollständig dargestellt, von A. KNOBEL.* [*Prophecy among the Hebrews, completely exhibited.*] Breslau. 1837. 2 vols. 8vo.

† See Christian Examiner for September, 1853.

illustration *ab extra*, but for practical application, or development from within. The religious reader will find in them rich food for meditation: the historical student will be disappointed if he seeks any clear or vigorous exposition. Each *dignus vindice nodus* of criticism is blandly evaded; and while symptoms of a generous scholarship appear here and there, it is only to enhance the positiveness of his appeal to conscience, and not to intellect, as the only arbiter he acknowledges in the cause at issue. So far, therefore, as our own purpose is concerned, excepting a few critical postulates on the side of orthodoxy, he leaves the field wholly unoccupied.

But, besides what any merely scholastic help can avail, the subject must be studied in that light which can be shed only by the Old Testament records themselves, taking the history and the literature as a whole. It is the result of this study that we chiefly desire to present, as faithfully as we may, in the remarks which we shall offer. It will be our design, avoiding as far as possible all points of mere antiquarianism, or controversy, to exhibit in its various bearings this most important element in the Hebrew life. We aim to give the positive results, not the distasteful processes, of criticism. Accepting the conclusions which seem to be most plausibly established by recent investigation, we design to use them simply as illustrations of the interior life of that peculiar people, whose records have been, to so large a portion of mankind, the fountain-head of religious truth, if not its only authentic and infallible source.

For it is in the class of men called Prophets that the characteristic religious genius of the Hebrew finds its most complete manifestation and most perfect expression. This peculiar genius, as we trace it through the Old Testament writings, works perpetually on the material given in history or tradition. It gives its distinctive coloring to political events and institutions. It is the established and recognized guide of the popular culture, the formative element, so to speak, in the national mind. It reflects the old Hebrew life and fortunes in a literature of high and peculiar order, and so becomes its representative to all subsequent ages. And, finally,—which most concerns our present purpose,—it is the

influence that moulds the nation from within; the first, or spontaneous, element in its religious progress; and so, the needful preparation for the later stages of that evolution which has made this people the harbinger of spiritual life to the entire family of mankind. We shall not, therefore, be thought to exaggerate the importance of the subject, if we endeavor to convey, somewhat fully, what appears to us to be its true place and significance, as a feature in the Hebrew commonwealth.

There is a vague sense in which we may speak of every extinct nationality as a growth never quite completed, or as prophetic of what only a distant future can bring to fulfilment. But the Hebrews are nearly, if not quite, alone in consciously accepting this as their appointed destiny. Their gifted men were powerfully aware of a mission connecting them with the future yet more vitally than with the past; and they constructed their forms of religious thought, or national development, in the vast spaces of an endless hereafter. This it is which distinguishes that race from every other, and makes the religious value of its history inexhaustible.

This was the peculiar place, and one eminent service of what, for want of another name, we call the *prophetic office* among the Hebrews. But in interpreting the phrase to the modern mind, we have to free it of its accidental modern associations, especially those which identify it with a particular department of the Hebrew literature. Prophecy, in the original sense of it, *was not a literature, but an act*. It included, in its larger meaning, all that we understand in the broadest sense of the term "spiritual power," as distinguished from the temporal power of the state, and (though more loosely) from the ecclesiastical power of the priesthood. In other words, it implied all the religious, moral, and intellectual agencies which were brought to bear *vitally* on the popular mind and conscience,—all, of course, limited by the standard of culture in a rude age, and shaped by the peculiar religious temperament of an Oriental people. It might be, and it often was, administered by a priest "in full orders"; but in its essence it was wholly distinct. The priest had to do with ritual and stated services. He was, so to speak, the people's delegate to the throne of its invisible Sovereign; his office was to

propitiate his offended majesty, and supplicate his royal favor. The Prophet — the “seer,” or *man of vision*, as he was called at first — was the delegate of Jehovah to his people. He was emphatically a man of action and popular address. His sphere of activity was abroad among the people. His influence was one of the determining forces in each critical exigency of the state. In the civil and political life of the nation, as well as in the causes of its religious thought, his position is at once indispensable and unique.

The authority and prestige of such an office were sustained by a numerous, well-recognized body. The class of men called Prophets were reckoned, not by solitary individuals, but by companies, and even by hundreds.* Especially as the ritual establishment acquires coherency and shape, they appear more and more distinctly in the exercise of their peculiar function. Samuel, in his restoring or recasting of the national polity, gathered them in groups, and established schools for their special training. Young men of forward and active genius thronged together in them, to learn the art of minstrelsy, and the use of speech and writing, together with such mechanical or medical skill as the age could furnish. David’s faithful companion in exile, and counsellor in the decline of his strength, the prophet Gad, affords (says Ewald) a probable example of the associations of this early culture. It was a noble conception of the last and greatest of the Judges, wonderful for that age, and invaluable in the after-history of the nation. Samuel, more than any other man, is to be regarded as the father of the long line of Hebrew prophets. The office of Moses, indeed, in the reverent view of a late posterity, finally resolved itself into that of a prophet, — a conception so strikingly presented in the book of Deuteronomy; but his true work was too complex and peculiar to admit so definite a title. The prophetic mantle had fallen on Miriam and on Deborah, to the enduring glory of Hebrew womanhood; and special messengers, charged with special warnings, appear here and there, on the page of the scanty annals. But under Samuel, Prophecy first became (so to speak) a Hebrew institution and a fixed fact. Not hereditary,

* See 1 Samuel x. 10, xix. 20; 1 Kings xviii. 4, xxii. 5.

like the priesthood, or of man's appointment, as any magistrate's function, it depended essentially on a Divine call, and on the moral aptitude of a man's soul. Institutions could only guide, train, instruct, and put to actual service, the spirit which came by its own laws, free as the unfettered wind. The "Schools of the Prophets," with their music strangely fascinating, their sacred discipline, their gathering and concentrating of the fresh religious zeal there might be in the body of the people, were of Samuel's foundation. And this institution of Prophecy—the fountain-head of the world's noblest poetry, and in after-times the bold protest against tyranny, the altar-fire of the nation's faith, the sacred hearth and shrine of a hope that should have its fulfilment in One who should be the world's spiritual Sovereign and the Prince of Peace—is the magnificent legacy bequeathed to humanity through the great Restorer of the Hebrew state.

These schools thus furnished a rallying-point for both intellect and religious zeal. The sacred traditions and early records of the race must probably have perished, but for this rude germ of a national university. The arts which require most patient and elaborate method in their learning, would scarcely have existed without such aid. The very forms and fragments of written history which have been preserved to us are doubtless in great part what after-compilers borrowed from the "book of Samuel the seer, and the book of Nathan the prophet, and the book of Gad the seer," or from the later chronicles of Iddo and Shemaiah.* So that, for whatever made the Hebrews great as a people, or gave their history instruction and avail for after-times, they were mainly indebted to that guardianship which Samuel and his successors exercised over the frail and early germs of their mental life.

Those who are at all acquainted with the religious history of the East will be at no loss to account for the profound influence at all times exercised over the popular mind by this body of enthusiastic, earnest, and comparatively well-cultured men. Causes of a powerful and

* 1 Chron. xxix. 29; 2 Chron. ix. 29. The books of Kings and Chronicles may perhaps afford a fair comparison between the mental qualities of the prophets and the priesthood.

headlong fanaticism are familiar events in that history; religious extravagance and frenzy are familiar facts in the mental physiology of Eastern races. The religious terror, that gave its crushing weight to Oriental theocracy, was easily roused by any vision or appeal, whether coming in the course of natural events or in the word of an inspired man. What might not be easily reconciled to a cooler temperament, or a different way of life, becomes natural and familiar when transferred to the soil of the East, — where to the wild Arab the lonely desert is populous with phantoms, and its drear silence haunted with misleading demon voices.* The dry and electric air may have its subtle influence, or the fierce splendors of the sun, or the mysterious affinities of race, affecting the temperament of brain and nerve. What we know is, that facts rare and abnormal in Western climates, or among Western races, are offered daily to the incredulity of Eastern travellers; and, by whatever name we call them, they must greatly affect our judgment of visions and wonders recounted among such a people, — still more, of their popular effect. Very much that a shallow rationalism has rejected from the Old Testament narrative, is reproduced and interpreted in the more generous "*scientific*s" of the present day.

We deem ourselves justified in suggesting what appears to us a probable exposition, especially of such passages as have most perplexed modern scholarship with accounts of prophetic ecstasy, that frenzy whose contagion seized, for example, the messengers of Saul, and made the king himself lie down in a prophetic raving all day and all night, "naked," or stripped of his royal robes, so that the saying went abroad, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" For the same quality that fits one man to be an enthusiast or seer, will in feebler degree make a multitude susceptible of the most powerful impression from his words. To the Orientals, the Franks have always seemed cold and irreligious. Among themselves, the race of prophets and visionaries, and the answering floods of popular fanaticism, never cease. The sudden triumphs of Islam are to be accounted for by no device of imposture or lunacy; but by laws profoundly written in the

* See De Quincey's remarkable essay on "Modern Superstitions."

human constitution, and working out under the influences of an Eastern clime. A roving Christian preacher at this day will rouse to passionate terror the whole population of a Moslem town by his prognostics of disaster;* and the counterpart of Hagar's vision, or Elijah's comforting voices in the desert, is repeated now in the tales of the Bedouin camp, and the warnings of the hushed march of the caravan. Profoundly susceptible, like all Eastern races, of that whole class of influences which border on the mysterious and supernatural, the Hebrew people offered just the requisite field for the expansion and development of the prophetic gift,—whether we regard it in its essential character as natural or divine. United as it was with a peculiar culture, and that intense and singular pertinacity of character and habit belonging to the race, it could not fail to become the culminating fact of their entire mental history.

The peculiar constitution of the state itself was based upon a conviction that made part of the very life of Hebrew thought,—a conviction which must powerfully coöperate with the quality just spoken of, to give energy and effect to the function of prophecy. The “people of Jehovah” were instructed to ascribe to their Divinity both the direct founding of their institutions and every powerful influence that affected their destiny. Everything inexplicable and unseen must necessarily be referred to Him,—the more certainly, the more nearly it bore upon their own fortunes. Even such fatal events as the great pestilence of David's reign, the revolt of the tribes, and the massacres committed by John, are referred to his express interposition and forethought; and the four hundred prophets who gave Ahab his false hopes of victory were really inspired by “a lying spirit from Jehovah,” as declared in Micaiah's eloquent story of his vision.† Of course, a man powerfully in earnest must derive his conviction from the same source. A rapt visionary, a poetical declaimer, a victorious champion, a skilled artificer, a sagacious and confident declarer of the future, a successful practiser of healing, or one who should exercise the now more familiar, yet unaccount-

* See Layard's “Babylon and Nineveh,” p. 632.

† 1 Kings xxii. 22.

able, power of finding hidden water-springs, or controlling "mesmerically" the bodily condition of others to hurt or heal, would even more certainly be regarded as deriving his gift from the particular favor of the unseen Sovereign. We have ourselves, among the recent phenomena of the so-called "Spiritualism," seen a diffident woman, of plain education and no practice in public speaking, transformed into one of extraordinary genius for improvisation and religious declamation; and there is no room whatever for a doubt in our mind as to the sincerity of her own conviction in her inspiration from the "superior spheres." How far such obscurer facts of mental physiology may supersede the hypothesis of direct supernatural influences, in explaining the more remarkable narratives of the Hebrew records, or how far those facts require for their own explanation the same hypothesis, we do not argue at present. We only insist, that they should be taken fairly into account, before we superciliously set aside what seems incredible in the accounts of a people so remote and strange to us.

At any rate, the class of men known as prophets found in the popular feeling and belief an ally by which they would be most powerfully aided, — all the more, because the feeling and conviction were their own. The gift of bodily temperament, or mental genius, of which they were conscious, they were expressly taught to regard as the commission or favor of Jehovah. A man of profound feeling, like Jeremiah, might shrink, in trembling and tears, from the pressure of the awful burden; but it must be borne, nevertheless, for the commission it implied could never once be doubted, — a commission that must crush every scruple, overrule every thought of policy, and still every throb of fear. A barbarian chieftain, like Jephthah, or one of the incorrigible levity of Samson, might be fortified by believing in his own divine legation, though it should not save him from the worst superstition or the grossest vice; while to one of resolute purpose, like Samuel, or of ardent and confident conviction, like Isaiah, the same belief would be the inspiration of the purest moral heroism. However shaded or stained, there is not the smallest reason to doubt that the belief was real. It made part of the temperament of the race, and the creed of the religion. It was shared alike by prophet and

king, by priest and people. This consideration is absolutely essential, if we would estimate correctly a single one of the many perplexing phenomena which the history of prophecy involves. Whatever else they were, they were not acts of shrewd jugglery or vulgar imposture; but, in the main, the acts of very confident and earnest men, who were instructed to believe thoroughly that what they did or thought was inspired directly by their nation's God. Both in their own and in the popular belief, they were, in the strictest sense, ambassadors or representatives, to speak before the nation messages from the invisible and dread majesty of its King.

A single word is further necessary, to state the true relation of prophecy to the political power of the realm. It seems to have been clearly recognized and deferred to, as a coördinate power, and as of at least equal authority with the monarchy. The theocratic constitution of the Hebrews acknowledged one full as much as the other. Each was a legitimate working force; each was essential to the existence and the true development of the state. If they ever came into open collision, which they were too apt to do, certainly the divine element was not held more guilty of criminal ambition than the human. Nay, the Hebrew mind would probably regard it as rightfully paramount on the whole, however ill-judged at times we may regard its opposition; and what would be punished as treason or usurpation in a modern state, offered no violence to that vague and simple polity. The high-handed control of Samuel over the royalty he had ordained; the political revolutions set on foot by Elisha; the practical statesmanship of Isaiah, who at a moment of extreme peril displaced Hezekiah's chief minister of state, and inaugurated a most hazardous change of policy; the baffling remonstrance of Jeremiah against the last desperate defence of Jerusalem, — have all been censured from the point of view of modern custom;* but the power that controlled the event in each of these instances was unquestionably regarded as a legitimate power in the state, however opposed to the "parliamentary régime," or the rude Erastianism of a democracy. Doubtless it was perplexing to lay down rules to govern

* See Newman's "Hebrew Monarchy."

the fluctuating and unstable equilibrium of the two powers, spiritual and temporal; impossible, often, to secure the needful independence of the executive in the task of public defence, against the sudden assault of a divine fury, or an irresponsible enthusiasm. Yet, whatever the hazard, it was one which the genius of the Hebrew state made inevitable,—one which its lawgivers deliberately assumed. The national existence itself might be set at stake (as in Saul's feud with the religious party) by the conflicts of policy that set prophet and king at variance; but no limit was suffered to be put to the "liberty of prophesying." Jeremiah's proclamations of disaster might unnerve the city's defenders in the very crisis of a siege; but he pleads the precedent of Micah, and cannot be forbidden. Shebna might protest in behalf of a prudent policy; but Isaiah's eloquent and indignant boldness gets the victory. At most, some uncertain test was offered to distinguish the true from the false; but, provided the profession of loyalty to Jehovah was unequivocal, nothing but tyrannical violence and usurpation could bridle the enthusiast, or even silence the impostor. The Hebrew constitutional law abode courageously by the maxims of a primitive devoutness; and the express edict of the state sanctioned that reverence towards the man of God, which was part of the popular religion.*

Among the multitude, whether of graduates from the prophetic seminary, or of solitary and self-taught men, the qualities of wisdom, devotion, and even mental honesty, were far from universal. In the Scripture record, "false prophets" appear nearly as often as the true; and some of the most striking scenes of the prophetic history are those of conflict waged against them. The distinction is often quite independent of the false worship and alien superstitions that always prevailed more or less among the people of Israel. It is drawn among those who claim with equal apparent sincerity the sanction and inspiration of Jehovah.† Nay, so far is it from always implying a false pretension, that Zedekiah and his four hundred (just referred to) are expressly said to have been inspired with an untruth. The distinction is not only very embarrassing to the critic now, but it was

* Deuteronomy xviii. 18, 19.

† See Deuteronomy xviii. 22.

at least equally so to the lawgivers of the Hebrews themselves. Infinitely distressing in its perplexity, in the religious terrors and counter-terrors that grew from it, it must have been to the people, — perhaps in apprehension of some disaster, perhaps under the scourge of some affliction. It is probably to be fully comprehended only by a better understanding than we possess of the conditions of religious progress among the Hebrews, and the steps by which a new order of ideas crowded out the old. The state of Israel doubtless offered no exception to the “natural history of enthusiasm,” or the laws of growth observed in heresies. What we read of as false prophets then, would be reckoned now as factious sectaries, or dissenters from the stricter creed, — if our modern standard could measure the dim proportions of such ancient heresy. Emphatic and repeated warnings are given, to “beware of false prophets”; but at a time when the rancor of recent revolution made a test of falsity especially desirable, the law is fluctuating and uncertain. At one time prophecy takes the sense of prediction, and is to be proved by the event; at another, neither miracle nor true prediction is a sufficient test, but only fidelity to the law already established, and to the exclusive worship of Jehovah.* In the later period of the monarchy, the collision of true and false became very frequent, as testified by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, — a natural consequence of revolutions within the state, and of an irregular progress of religious thought stimulated from abroad. But so few are our monuments, and so imperfect our knowledge of the time, that we cannot draw the line of heresy with much more certainty than has now been done. We can only add, that the true faith of Israel may be assumed as that which history has preserved and ratified; and that those prophets whose acts and words have survived to us have at least their nation’s verdict, that they are its authentic spokesmen.

Neither can the entire amount and drift of their influence upon their countrymen be determined with much greater confidence, than has already been implied in the description of their office. We dismiss, with a mere mention, the opinion which has compared them to the mendicant or preaching friars of the Roman Church, as

* See Deuteronomy xviii. 22; xiii. 2, 3.

messengers and agents of the hierarchy among the people; as well as that which more absurdly imagines them as forming a sort of opposition-clubs in the Hebrew state. How partial, at any rate, is either view, is shown in what we have already written. Such conjectures, though they may do a little to pique the imagination, are quite as likely to lead it astray from the fact. The clearest picture we have of the prophets' way of life is contained in the remarkable episode in the history of the Kings, which recounts the acts of Elijah and Elisha. Here they appear as the instructors and familiar companions of the people. They dwell either in strange solitudes, like the first, or, as Elisha, in industrial communities, fathers of the monastic life. From these retreats they go forth, or send out their trusty messengers, to the special service which the time demands. They are bold to rebuke tyranny, stanch champions of the faith of Israel, tender in their sympathy with a people under oppression, stern and unflinching when the time comes to avenge upon a guilty dynasty the arrears of accumulated wrong. They are skilful in the treatment of diseases with simple remedies, whether by human or superhuman means; practised observers, both of natural phenomena and political events; adepts, apparently, in the rude handicraft and simple science of the day. Knowledge and power beyond the ordinary reach of men would of course be ascribed to supernatural aid, and recounted in tales of wonder. To predict a change of sky, and to foil a hostile policy, are among the examples related of prophetic skill. The notion of divine agency conveyed in the account is often untempered and harsh. The prophet becomes a messenger of God's vengeance, as well as of his mercy. The healing of a leper, or the blasting of a company of men by divine fire; the restoring of a dead child to its mother, or the tearing of more than forty by bears out of a wood, when Elisha "turned and cursed them" for their childish mockery,—are told with equal unconcern, as parts of the same marvellous tale, superseding all human judgment of equity or cruelty. But of far more value than any such narratives as these is the picture which is suggested of the prophet's way of life in that early time, the real tenderness and confidence of his intercourse with the people, and the mingling of his personal agency in the great events of

war or state policy which were acting out around him. It is a picture of one portion of the old Hebrew life, without which our knowledge of that people would be far more incomplete than it is. And it leaves us little to ask, except those questions for ever vain, touching the degree of religious development then reached, and the real nature of the controversies which we discern so imperfectly among the obscure movements of the earlier Hebrew thought.

From the manner of instruction employed we may infer the untaught simplicity of the minds which the prophets addressed, as well as something of their own style of genius. The language of symbols — sometimes ingenious and suggestive, sometimes grotesque and quaint — is the favorite language of popular address. The touching simplicity of Nathan's parable of the ewe lamb is an example standing nearly by itself, wherein the imagery is more delicate and pure, and the peculiar style of Hebrew religious teaching is shown in its most pleasing form. Indeed, the parables of the Evangelists are but the purest and most beautiful examples of a mode of instruction of which the Jewish literature is full. The prophetic imagery, or symbolic language, detailed in act or speech, is generally of a ruder and coarser sort. Zedekiah binds iron horns to his forehead, and butts with them, to signify that Ahab shall push victoriously against the Syrians. Hosea takes for his wife a woman of notoriously ill life, to illustrate the infidelity of Israel in its nuptial relation to Jehovah. Isaiah walks openly for three years, "naked and barefoot" (or in the squalid garb of a captive), to picture the coming servitude of the Egyptians. A characteristic part of Jeremiah's ministry consists in a variety of symbolic acts, which might easily seem trivial in the telling, though effective, doubtless, and serious in the acting; and in his predicting of subjugation, he loads his shoulders with a yoke, which the bolder Hananiah breaks, to reverse the omen, or emblematic sense.

From pictorial or symbolic acts, the prophetic style easily ascended into language of the same characteristic quality. The vast and vague magnificence of the Hebrew imagery is the most marked feature in that literature, and the familiar representative to us of the national genius.

Indeed, by the consent of critics, it has become our conventional standard of the sublime. Nothing in the literature of any age, excepting what has been directly inspired from that source, exceeds the grandeur of the visions in which the Hebrew prophets discourse of the state and sovereignty of Jehovah, or menace the doom of a profligate tyranny. The stern and obscure brevity of their style, condensing the images of a pictorial fancy, has given the writers of this people a hold upon the imagination of later ages, such that they must always be the grand examples of this one element in the literature of the world. Nothing, indeed, gives us so high a notion of the general quality of the Hebrew mind, as the fact that these nobler passages of language, whether prophetic ode or vision or religious appeal, were portions of real and living address, — employed to move the popular conscience to a definite end, or to shape the actual policy of the state.

The course of the Hebrew history, making the background or running illustration of the preceding remarks, enables us easily to generalize the history of the prophetical office, by casting it into three well-marked periods. The first is the period of unwritten prophecy, lasting down to the age of Elisha, and its general features have already been sufficiently described. The third, or latest period of prophecy, including such compositions as appeared during the Captivity, or later, demands for its illustration points which lie beyond the line of our present purpose. There remains the second, or the earlier period of written prophecy, commencing about the middle of the ninth century before Christ, and terminating with the fall of Jerusalem. This period begins with Joel and ends with Jeremiah, covering a space of about two hundred and fifty years.

It was during this time, or the latter half of the Monarchy, that these chief movements of the Hebrew mind were wrought; and probably, along with them, a large proportion of the remaining Scripture was either for the first time written, or at least cast in its present shape. So that this is the most prolific and active period of the national genius, and that which most fully exhibits to us the intellectual character of that people. The changing fortunes of the state would stimulate all men to whatever

mental activity they were capable of; while perpetual contact with other nations would bring out in strong relief the peculiar qualities of thought which characterize the race. Thus another ground of interest is suggested in this discussion; since the period under review will give us a point of departure, by which we may measure the mental advance made afterwards, under another set of influences.

We have not space to specify those occasions in the history which brought forward, one after another, the series of the Hebrew prophets. They will be found fully detailed, or ingeniously surmised, in the successive introductions to Ewald's translation. For convenience of reference, we subjoin a brief outline in the note below.*

The questions remaining to be considered are, What is

* 1. *Joel*, in the reign of Amariah, bewails a plague of locusts, and censures the neglect of sacrifice. Atonement being made, he predicts the divine favor to Judah, conquest and slavery to Edom, Tyre, and Egypt. 2. *Amos*, a missionary in the northern kingdom, details the splendor and prosperity of the reign of Jeroboam II., together with its oppression, riots, licentiousness, and idolatry. The Assyrian power threatened. 3. *Hosea*, the last prophet of the northern kingdom, speaks of the idolatry, etc. at the close of Jeroboam's reign, and the convulsions succeeding; factions, seeking foreign aid. He suffers persecution and exile. 4. *Isaiah's* visions and consecration (ch. vi.). Early Assyrian conquests (ii. 2-v. 25; ix. 8-x. 4; v. 26-30). Their further advance (xvii. 1-11). Invasion by Pekah and Rezin (vii. 1-ix. 7). Warning to Philistines (xiv. 28-32). Moab (ch. xv., xvi.). Dumah and Arabian tribes (xxi. 11-17). Damascus (ch. xxiii.). Imminent invasion of Assyrians (i. 2-31, the remonstrance was effectual, in Hezekiah's reforms). Base treaty with them; charges against Shebna, (xxii. 1-25). Proposed Egyptian alliance (ch. xxviii.-xxxii. and xx.). Promised deliverance from Assyria (x. 5-xii. 6). Message to Ethiopians (xvii. 12-xviii. 7; xiv. 24-27). Defiance of Sennacherib (ch. xxxiii.; xxxvii. 22-35). National judgments resulting in restoration of the true faith; alliance and harmony of Egypt, Assyria, and Judah (ch. xix.). 5. *Micah*. The same events as affecting the rural villages; false prophets and unfaithful statesmen; decay of faith; destruction of city and temple apprehended. 6. *Unknown* (Zech. ix. 1-xi. 17; xiii. 7-9) parallel with Isaiah, ch. ix., but referring to the northern kingdom. 7. *Nahum*, an exile in Assyria. Threatened destruction of Nineveh and Thebes, by Medes. 8. *Zephaniah*. Terror at inroad of Scythians; deliverance can come only after judgment. 9. *Habakkuk*. Invasion of Scythians and Chaldees, after Josiah. No allusion to old offences; but the new lesson of trust, in time of hopeless calamity. 10. *Unknown* (Zech. xii. 1, xiii. 6; ch. xiv., written just before the destruction of Jerusalem), a dweller in the country; confides in the deliverance of the city, while Jeremiah desponds. 11. *Obadiah* (after the fall of Jerusalem). The malignant vengeance of Edom, to be revenged by Arab marauders. 12. *Jeremiah*. Personal incidents, appeals, predictions, etc., giving a full picture of the siege and fall of Jerusalem; struggles with persecutions; comforting of delusive predictions of triumph. 13. *Ezekiel*, one of the earlier exiles, and to be ranked among the prophets of the Captivity.

the style of religious thought to be discerned in the prophetic writings? and especially, What is their true interpretation with respect to the religious life, hopes, and progress of humanity? To these questions our answer will be as brief as the nature of the case permits.

The first obvious thing that occurs to us, as we glance along the line of honored names, is that the series culminates near midway, in the glorious hopes and visions, the firm attitude of religious confidence, the exultation arising from an unlooked-for deliverance, and the generous and wise temper of an enlarged charity, associated with the name and public ministry of Isaiah. The eldest of the company are harsh and brief, bitter in their denouncing, vindictive in their threatening. The later have more of despair than hope, express rather complaint than confidence; so that we feel, for Jeremiah especially, rather sympathy in the sorrow of his burden, than gladness and honor for his bearing of it. We cannot nicely discriminate the temper of the different stages, where all is at once so strongly national and so intensely personal. Yet, with the culminating of this period of the nation's life in the reign of Hezekiah, we feel that the richest harvest of Hebrew thought is gathered; that what went before was of harsh unripeness, that what is later will be the more spare and solitary gleaning. The later light is often more gentle and soft, but it has not the fresh glory of the day.

In estimating these works as literary compositions, we have to remember that they are only relics and specimens of what was probably a large mass of similar addresses, written or unwritten. It was not till the later period that prophecy became a literature by main intention. Such compositions as those of Ezekiel, or the magnificent chapters appended to the book of Isaiah,* may have been the production of more cultivated minds, wrought out in solitary study. But the earlier prophets spoke or acted as the occasion moved, and to an instant, practical end, of warning, rebuke, or cheer. The writing down of their message was an afterthought, and was left till the imminency of the occasion had passed by. Indeed, by the

* Commencing with ch. xl., which we may, without much hazard, assume to have been written during the Captivity.

peculiar genius of the Hebrew tongue, much is wrought up in the impassioned style of prediction or appeal, which a more cultivated dialect would have discriminated in the colder tone of history; the prediction being written or recast, years perhaps after it was delivered, and when the contingency foretold was already passed.* It was in the retreat from persecution, or the loneliness of exile, that Amos and Hosea composed their elaborate pictures of the declining state of Israel, embodying the symbols and appeals they had employed in their active ministry; and Isaiah's noble ode of defiance to Sennacherib was unquestionably written down after the tumult and terror of the invasion had passed away. So that the writing is in some regards an uncertain reflection of the speech; while the speech suggests the type and affords the criterion by which to judge the more elaborate writing. Much of the abrupt and lively manner is retained; the symbolic acts are detailed in all their freshness; while, in the fashion of the popular speaker, fragments of address are interspersed, suggested by the occasion, or directed to particular classes of hearers.† Not only the fitness of the language, or order of ideas, must be measured by the needs of the occasion, but the thought itself is often disguised in a symbol of doubtful interpretation. It is only with considerable freedom of criticism, and with the allowance of a wide margin of uncertainty, that we can trace at all the course of positive opinion hinted in the prophets; still less can we ascertain the real condition of the popular belief. Besides the general character of the Hebrew literature and institutions, a few more striking passages of imagery, or views of religious thought, are all we have to mark the advance of mind in that age, and ascertain its amount of preparation for a later and higher culture.

In our estimate of the mind of this period we must take into account, furthermore, such compositions as the book of Job and many of the Psalms; which not only, as seems likely, belong here in point of time, but are genuine prophetic writings—as much as any, if we adopt the only consistent interpretation of the phrase. Aided by

* See Isaiah xxx. 8; Jeremiah xxxvi. 2.

† As, for instance, to women; see Amos iv. 1-3; Isaiah iii. 16-iv. 1, xxxii. 9-12.

these, our estimate of the truth and spirituality of religious ideas among the Hebrews will be very greatly enhanced. We may except to many a special image, or point of view; but religious writings that have survived so many revolutions of religious thought, and still hold their place in the general reverence and affection, must, in some essential regards, be alike beyond our censure or our praise.

The religious significance of such writings lies not so much in clearness of outline, or distinctness of intellectual view, as in the tone and elevation of thought. It would be idle to go to them for instruction on particular points of faith, — save as instruction may be hinted in their often spontaneous and fervid utterance of a spiritual fact. To construct a theological scheme — even to require consistency of religious opinion — could not possibly have entered into the mind of that day. The faith which the prophets demanded was a moral quality. It was loyalty to Israel's God; fidelity in the line of service which the conscience of the time could apprehend. The moral attributes of Jehovah were never presented with any consistency or clearness; neither was the precise relation in which outward acts of faith stood to the Divine ordinance and will. Sovereign power, bare and absolute, must make the basis of the popular conception of Jehovah's rule, modified only by such special favors as he bestowed on his chosen people. "I form the light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil," is the language the prophets ascribe to him; and the sublime passages of the book of Job crush the mind under the awful sense of his irresistible and unquestioned sovereignty, before its calmer lesson is given, of trust in his equal recompense.

Again, the prophets, as moved by an intenser and clearer moral sense, stood often in the attitude of Protestants and Reformers as regarded the priesthood or the ritual; but not always, or in any such sense as to represent an opposition party, or even to indicate any decided progress in that direction. Their language or their attitude was determined partly by the temper of the time they had to meet, partly by the conduct of the priesthood, and the overgrowth or decay of ritual ordinances. Instead of heaping weight in a single scale, they seem rather to have labored to keep that degree of equilibrium of form

and spirit, which to the Hebrew conscience would best represent the normal condition of things. The extravagances of religious independence were no more to be admitted, than the deadening oppression of a corrupt formalism. Joel, of a priest's family, and perhaps a priest himself, calls for a sacrificial atonement to avert the visiting scourge; while with Amos, God will accept no sacrifice, but demands that "judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." Isaiah and Micah, in the golden age of prophecy, indicate the moral as far above the ritual meaning of the code; and Jeremiah denies that sacrifices were ever the Divine command;* while Ezekiel, at a later day, exhibits the most elaborate and painful formalism of all, along with the severest invective against past abuses. If there is such a thing as singleness of purpose among the whole number of the prophets, it is at any rate conceded under that diversity of circumstance which gave shape and color to their appeal.

As to the invisible world, the prophetic visions only reproduce the familiar images of royal state, enhanced by the splendors of such symbolism as we find wrought out in the imposing works of Egypt and Assyria; where winged figures are emblematic of God's swift decree, and the human countenance of the seraph denotes that wisdom which men but faintly apprehend. The hierarchy of the heavenly hosts, with the characteristic names of the archangels, belongs to the fancies of a mythology not yet learned. An angel, in the earlier Hebrew belief, was but an envoy of Jehovah, sent on some special errand; the "thrones, dominions, and powers of heavenly places," so vividly presented in the poetic imagery of Daniel, Zechariah, and the Apocalypse, made part of that more gorgeous and positive creed adopted during the long sojourn in the East.†

The shadowy realm of the departed, the abode of gloom and dreariness, which is the only relief to the blank oblivion that follows death, is of a piece with the untaught and

* See Isaiah i.; Micah vi. 8; Jeremiah vii. 22.

† "R. Simeon ben Lachisch dicit: Nomina angelorum ascenderunt in manu Israelis ex Babylone. Nam antea dictum est, *Adolevit ad me unus rōn Seraphim*, *Seraphim steterunt ante eum* (Is. vi.); at post, *Vir Gabriel* (Dan. ix. 21); *Michael princeps vester* (Dan. x. 21)." Quoted by Strauss from Lightfoot.

imaginative mythology which prevailed with every ancient people, till its dark shade was illumined by the dawning light of immortality. Job hints, with pathetic patience, his trust in a living Vindicator, who shall relieve him from the heavy reproach of guilt, and so take away the sting of his calamity; but the clear and positive anticipation of a life to come made no part of the elder Hebrew faith. At best, its dismal imagery could make the apparition of Samuel a real terror to the conscience of the shuddering king; or give force and vividness to the gloomy sublimity of Isaiah's image, of the powers of the under-world moved to meet the oppressor at his coming; or startle us with the story of a dead man restored to life at the touch of the sacred relics of a prophet. The apprehension of a future state was distinct enough to haunt the imagination, and clothe itself in forms of a religious fancy; but not to suggest any profound lessons of retribution, or minister comfort in anguish, or furnish the key to a ritual symbolism, or vindicate the mystery of a half-hidden Providence. It required the teaching of another order of events, and the contact of another system of belief, to develop in the Hebrew mind the latent faith in the unseen, and so complete the circle of its religious thought.

As an intellectual system, nothing could be more simple and undefined than the theology assumed by the Hebrew prophets, beyond the few points that have now been named. As such, they did not much to develop or extend it. Their real office was in part as its preservers, bringing the mind of the people continually back upon the faith and loyalty which were from of old their noblest attribute; and in part as its reformers, testifying in the name of Jehovah against many forms of abuse, and by the very honesty of their purpose insensibly enhancing their own and the popular sense of right. When their task was done, and the career of their nation closed, the animosity or nervousness due to the pressure of their time would gradually subside; so that their true legacy to after-time would be the residue of higher thought and single-hearted zeal which it was their mission to associate for ever with the name and worship of Jehovah.

Barred by the narrowness of their creed from the vast and illimitable spaces of a heavenly future, and alike from the vision of a reign of humanity upon earth, their faith

in the providence of God as manifest in Israel concentrated itself in a boundless and benignant hope for their own chosen people. Early in the prophetic history, and especially when the gloom of the present prospect required the strong contrast of a positive glory in the future, we find the dawn of the Messianic prophecy.* There seems almost a wilful positiveness and grandeur in the confident assertions of triumph made so often in the very pressure of imminent ruin. That it was a real and sustaining faith, that, in spite of a thousand defeats and centuries of disappointment, it remains so to this day, is the singular glory of the Hebrew race,—like one ray of divine light resting upon it, through the dark and dreadful humiliation it has sustained. Even if its original meaning and purpose were never to be accomplished, yet the hidden and unintended meaning, which gave an unflagging courage, which restored the perishing germ of nationality, which nourished a sacred zeal by lingering and precious memories, and prepared the world's welcome for the "Father of an everlasting age, and Prince of Peace," was a divine prophecy of truth given and heard unawares. The words it was spoken in may seem to us the natural utterance of the occasion, working on the profound and passionate conviction of a Hebrew mind; but their sense to the heart and imagination will always be what the genius of triumphant melody† has made it,—the homage of Humanity to its spiritual Sovereign, the inspired longing and promise of a Divine Redeemer.

The more definite forms of Messianic prophecy, the beautiful lyrical amplifications of the earlier hope, (contained especially in the closing chapters of Isaiah,) belong, as we conceive, to an age later than that which we are now considering. They bear the spiritual quality, and expand in the purity of anticipation, triumphant or tender, brought about in a period of larger culture and less violent vicissitude. The declarations of the elder prophets are brief, occasional, and vague. They abound not so much in clearness of statement, making them distinct to the reason, as in clusters of imagery, making them

* See Joel ii. 28; iii. 17; Isaiah vii. 14; ix. 1-7; ch. xi.

† It is scarcely necessary, we hope, to explain an allusion to the "Wonderful Chorus" of Handel's *Messiah*.

vivid to the imagination. Their garb is not that of definite prediction, but of vague anticipation and poetic rhapsody. And, still further to denote their character, they occur miscellaneous among the appeals to conscience, or the declaiming on political events, without any hint that they are of broader scope than that connection would seem to indicate.* They come in, incidentally, to round out the circle of the prophet's familiar thought, rather than dwell minutely or fondly on the visions of a remote future. In short, like other modes of prophetic doctrine or appeal, they take the precise form and pressure of the time. They are held out as encouragement in particular emergencies, or as assurance against particular disasters. They are a vindication of the permanence of the Hebrew faith, and the faithfulness of Jehovah, who will not suffer his people to perish. They seize some passing event, or domestic incident, or symbolic personal name, as a "sign," omen, or hint to the imagination, that the national hope is not doomed to fail. Its triumph is generally heralded, as if it should come with the vanishing of the immediate danger; † and it is not till those of clearest foresight despaired of the city's defence against the king of Babylon, that its fulfilment is deferred for a period of "seventy years," — till the land shall have expiated the guilt of its five centuries' neglect of its seasons of religious rest. ‡

Such is the general character of what are known as the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, — including in that phrase not only such as hint at a coming sovereign and an everlasting reign of peace, but all which foretell the nation's deliverance and triumphs amidst impending danger. That these predictions should gradually shape themselves towards a restoration of the monarchy, in renovated and purer form, after the fondly imagined type of David's reign, was inevitable under the conditions of Hebrew thought. That they should include the firm and universal dominion of the national institu-

* See, for example, Isaiah, ch. vii. — ix.

† See Isaiah x. 24 — 27, in connection with ch. xi.

‡ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. The real duration of the Captivity was about fifty years; and the disappointment of the prophetic hope (which looked successively to Cyrus and Zerubbabel) seems to have suggested the interpretation of "seventy weeks," or five centuries. See Isaiah xlv. 1; Haggai ii. 23; Daniel ix. 24.

tions,* was part of the prophet's loyalty to the only form he could imagine of the true religion, and was required by the homage he paid his nation's God. It is needless to repeat the imagery, sometimes splendid, sometimes tender, in which the indomitable hope was variously portrayed. It is not the particular form of declaration, but the mental quality, so perpetually active and so characteristic of the race, that gives its chief value to this portion of the Hebrew literature; together with the answering quality in the popular mind, which so fondly echoed the words, and cherished the hope, and expanded into large proportion each detail of the imagery, and so, out of what has grown to be a gorgeous dream, created the magnificent type of mankind's conception of its Redeemer.

This one element, refined and almost purely spiritual, has survived to us, out of that vast influence wielded upon their own generation by "the goodly fellowship of the Prophets." How mingled and various was that influence; how tempered by passion, delusion, and narrowness of view, among some who bore the name; how affected by superstition, obstinacy, fear, or hate, among those who, with a vague awe, received it; how misinterpreted by the fiery zeal or ignorant prejudice of after-times, — has been sufficiently shown. A single word suffices to restore us to the right point of view, which regards the history as a whole, and seeks its significance for the later evolution of human thought. The divine or providential aspect of that history is reflected precisely here, — in the highest reach of thought, and the purest moral aspiration, attained by the foremost men of the race. While so much of the nation's life is utterly forgotten, or grown unintelligible and obsolete; while most of its records have perished, and its very name is but dimly and apologetically inscribed in the registers of the ancient world; while the race that bore it, after centuries of ignominious persecution at the hands of a generation that disowned its great debt, is even now struggling for some equal recognition of its religious and civil right, — these bravest and highest words, spoken by its true representative men, make even now a spell to stir men's thought,

* Isaiah ii. 2; Micah iv. 1.

and a living power in the permanent literature of the world. For, through their often meagre brevity, and dense obscurity, and wearisome perplexity, there still shines the light which guided the desert-march of Israel, and sounds that "voice crying in the wilderness," which, from remote ages, yet heralds to our heart the latest and purest hope of humanity.

J. H. A.

ART. VI.—M. GRANDPIERRE ON AMERICAN UNITARIANISM.*

WE have placed at the foot of this page the titles of two works, mainly on account of the diametrically opposite views which they give of the strength and progress of Unitarianism in the United States.

The book by the Rev. M. Grandpierre is, with the single exception that it gives an incorrect statement on this point, written in an exceedingly liberal and candid spirit. It praises our country, more than does any book of travels that we have seen. The abundant provision made for education; the vast scale on which the benevolent enterprises of the day are prosecuted; the clergy,—"the best in the world"; the manner in which the Sabbath is observed; the absence of poverty; the comforts, and even luxuries, which the masses enjoy;—these make a profound and most favorable impression on his mind. He regards the form of government under which we live as "perfectly adapted to the genius of the people." Our prosperity, he thinks, is to be traced principally to the religious spirit which is everywhere prevalent. He cannot help exclaiming, "Happy is the nation whose God is the Lord!"

In intimating that his remarks upon our own faith are

* 1. *Quelques Mois de Séjour aux États-Unis d'Amérique*, par J. H. GRANDPIERRE, D. T. Pasteur-suffragant de l'Église Réformée de Paris, et Directeur des Missions Évangéliques. Paris: Chez Grassart. 1854. 12mo. pp. 207.

2. *A Presbyterian Clergyman looking for the Church*. By One of Three Hundred. New York: General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union. 1853. 12mo. pp. 580.

not altogether just, we by no means imply that he did not intend to state the exact truth. No one would entertain such an idea who knew M. Grandpierre, or who has had the privilege, frequently enjoyed by the writer of these pages, of listening to him as a preacher.

We will go further; and grant, that, though some of his statements are exaggerated or incomplete, as we shall attempt to show, the error to which we have referred has respect, in most cases, rather to the conclusions which he draws, than to the facts which he adduces.

The statements to which this latter remark applies are these: "The Unitarians in the United States are in a very small minority. They have only a few churches, at Cambridge, Boston, and in one or two other cities. They scarcely exist at all as a church." "The negative principle which runs through Unitarianism is not more fruitful (*fécond*) in the United States than it is upon the Continent of Europe." "The Unitarians have no missionary societies, foreign or domestic; no tract society, or other like institutions. Even in the Bible Society they take but little interest. It was not founded by them, and if they contribute at all to its funds, their subscriptions are very small indeed." He says, "They have but one theological school," and "that is far from being prosperous, and it shows more than one sign of decline." In fine, though M. Grandpierre devotes but little space to this branch of his subject, he gives to his readers the impression that Unitarianism, especially when compared with Orthodoxy, is, as a principle, inefficient and powerless; that it has accomplished and is accomplishing very little, and is evidently, if not already dead, rapidly dying out.

The work entitled "A Presbyterian Clergyman looking for the Church" is a fitting *pendant* to that by the French clergyman. It is such, because, while apparently perfectly cognizant of facts showing that the Unitarian body is small, numerically considered, and that their denominational activity is not so manifest as is that of other sects, its author represents Unitarianism as rapidly increasing, and exerting a mighty influence. The number of chapters mainly devoted to this point nearly corresponds to the number of pages in the other work which take the opposite view.

The work which bears this rather singular title is "by one of three hundred Presbyterian ministers who have become Episcopalians." The Rev. Flavel S. Mines, now deceased, wrote his book in a popular style; its unusually large sale, and its publication by "the Episcopal Sunday School Union" of New York, show that it is estimated highly by members of the Church to which he belongs. We do not propose, however, to speak of it, except in a single connection. Our reason for referring to it now is the prominence which the writer, in all his argument, gives to the history of the spread of Unitarian opinions.

Unitarianism he represents "as the protest of the human mind against Calvinistic doctrines at which it revolts." "No wonder," he says, "New England falls back into Unitarianism, or any other *ism* that will cling to the Creator as the Universal Father." (p. 481.) The Calvinistic churches of New England, he thinks, are becoming Unitarian everywhere. Quoting a Presbyterian divine, he remarks: "The Unitarians may lie on their arms without striking a blow, and confidently await the issue." (p. 163.) He speaks of the Church of the Puritans, after as fair an experiment as it was possible to make, "as eaten up to its very heart with Socinianism, a Socinianism not imported, . . . but springing up by the natural law of gravitation." (p. 161.)

He argues from the history of Unitarianism in Germany, Switzerland, and France, countries which for the most part have cast off the old orthodoxy, "where Presbyterianism was, but where Socinianism now is," that the churches of the United States will soon follow their example. "As to New England, we regard the last experiment of Calvinism as made."

The same tendency he sees in England. "Of the two hundred and fifty-eight Presbyterian chapels in England remaining after the times of Cromwell, two hundred and thirty-five are Unitarian." Milton and Watts are referred to as showing the tendencies of the individual mind, "the latter of whom labored anxiously and painfully on the question of our Lord's divinity."

Without quoting all that we might from this book, suffice it to say, that whereas M. Grandpierre finds little but a mere remnant of Unitarianism, Mr. Mines (out of

his own Church) can scarcely see anything else. It is spreading so fast, and engulfing one after the other the orthodox Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, that he cannot refrain from warning his "dissenting brethren." The moral of his book, to a Calvinist who had just perused M. Grandpierre's sketches, would be something like this: Very well, my orthodox brother, you see what you are coming to. Behold the rod, not only that which, for the love of you, I, a humble disciple of the only true Church, have laid over the shoulders of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism, but also that other rod whose name is Unitarianism, destined, if they "will not hear the Church," to swallow up all the other sects.

Indeed, if there are any of our readers who are in the least staggered by what they read either in M. Grandpierre's or in others' writings about the decline of Unitarianism, and if they attach great importance to what a Trinitarian says about the present position and strength of Unitarianism, we cannot recommend to them a book better fitted to rebuke discouragement than that by the Rev. Mr. Mines. We are rejoiced that he has made his statements with such boldness. Our view of their weight is not affected by criticisms which we might pass upon the work on other grounds. We are sure that some at least of his readers will draw quite a different conclusion from his ninth, twelfth, and fifteenth chapters, than that which he so strenuously endeavors to enforce; namely, "that in Episcopacy is the only safety."

These opposite views of the spread of Unitarianism, given by two writers of a different faith from ours, have suggested to us the consideration of the following question: Is Unitarianism gradually dying out, or is it making really no inconsiderable degree of progress? Are the present aspects of our cause encouraging or discouraging? In attempting, as we propose to do, to show that a favorable answer can be given to this inquiry, we are not unaware of the delicacy of our task. Defence against unwarrantable accusation may seem to some like arrogant boasting, and an attempt to nourish that undue denominational self-complacency which is fatal to all progress.

We can only say, that we are as sensible of the short-

comings of Unitarians as are any of our friends. In desiring to show that Unitarianism has accomplished very much more than its opponents admit, we by no means assert that its friends are justified in being vainglorious or supine. In endeavoring to prove that we, as a denomination, are not quite dead or dying out, we are far from affirming that we are fully alive to our responsibilities. In arguing with a French Bonapartist, few of our countrymen would grant that American republicanism has turned out a failure, even though they had a vivid sense of some of our national faults. A similar denial is not inconsistent with the same admissions, when a French Calvinist pronounces American Unitarianism a failure.

We propose to treat our general subject under three heads:—

I. In connection with some of the causes affecting our growth as a religious body.

II. Some statistical and other information in respect to its influence and actual condition; and

III. The bearing upon our prospects of certain opinions and movements of other sects.

I. Some of the causes modifying the progress of our distinctive views lie among those subtle agencies and influences which are not always susceptible of explanation or analysis, and to the power of which all opinions are more or less subject. The difficulties involved in the inquiry, Why, if it be true, does it not make more progress? are such as the history of all great intellectual movements presents. The problem how or why this or that form of religious opinion gained the ascendancy, and kept it in a particular age or country, constantly perplexes the student of religious history. To say nothing of the almost undisputed sway of Roman Catholicism for centuries preceding the advent of Luther, what a marvel is it that, even now, Roman Catholicism in Europe is less strong relatively than it was towards the close of the life of the German Reformer! Who would then have prophesied, that, in the nineteenth century, more than one half of what was then the Netherlands would be Roman Catholic; that in Bohemia, where Protestantism then promised to be the prevalent religion, it should become extinct; and that in Germany itself it should on

the whole lose ground? Persecutions explain in part the phenomena; but Christianity encountered in its rise persecutions quite as severe. Christianity spread in the face of edicts and governmental policies as hostile as any employed by the Philips and Alvas and Louises of later times. The blood of the martyrs has been always regarded as the seed of the Church. If we say that all that Protestantism needs is a fair field, how can we account for the fact, that, in seasons of tranquillity and peace, and in countries where there has been no persecution within the memory of living men, as is the case in Germany and France, no considerable advance is evinced by Protestantism? Climate has undoubtedly here great influence. North America is Protestant, South America Catholic; England and the extreme northern powers contrast in the same regard with Spain and Italy. Yet not only is Ireland Catholic, but the great mass of the Roman Catholic population of Europe is north of the parallel of latitude on which Quebec stands. Increased means of education are favorable to enlightened religious views. Yet in England, where there are many more schools in proportion to the population than there were twenty years ago, Unitarianism makes less progress than does Mormonism. The early history of a sect exerts an influence favorable to its continuance for a long period. This is well illustrated by the present condition of various Protestant bodies in our own land. Thus Quakerism has still its firmest foothold in Pennsylvania. In New York, Congregationalism is feeble, while the members of the Dutch Reformed Church are very numerous. But then, on the other hand, nowhere is Puritanism less puritanic than it is in Massachusetts, and Episcopacy, which has lost ground in Virginia, is stronger in Connecticut than in any State in the Union.

A religious system, all will admit, derives great help from falling in with the spirit of the institutions of the country where it seeks an entrance. Yet the success of Methodism—to omit all reference to Episcopacy—seems to show that a form of church government singularly undemocratic has great attraction even in republican America.

The error of making success the gauge of truth as respects matters of belief may be shown, also, by applying

a similar test to matters of practice. A believer in the Trinity, who holds opinions of a most ultra stamp in respect to the wickedness of all wars, is not convinced that he is in error because his favorite views seem to have made but little progress during eighteen centuries. Why may not Scriptural doctrines, as well as Scriptural duties, be obliged to wait a long time before they are widely received?

There are two very simple remedies within the reach of almost all, which are to be recommended to any one who is discouraged by the thought how little his most cherished religious opinions have spread. One is to read the speeches and resolutions published twenty or thirty years ago in the reports of the doings of that benevolent association whose objects lie nearest to his heart; and then contrast the actual state of things at present with the hope and the prophecy which these breathe. There are no more eloquent, though often they are very mournful teachers, of the need of patience and hopefulness too, than are the old yellow-leaved pamphlets of this class which are put away forgotten on our shelves. The other remedy against discouragement which we would suggest is this. Ask yourself, friend, not why the whole world is backward in embracing your religious opinions, — ask yourself rather, why the people in your own village, or why some dozen among your own acquaintance, do not immediately embrace them. If you can give such an answer to this last inquiry as will not shake your faith in the truth of your opinion, the larger question need not fret you. The biases, the prejudices, the indifferences, the ignorances, around and close at hand, are representative in their character. They represent what exists and has existed on more remote fields and with a wider sweep.

Besides the causes just mentioned, which have had a bearing upon the progress of our views, there are others growing out of the peculiarities of our history and of our religious system. Granting the truth of much that is affirmed of the want of faithfulness which Unitarians have exhibited in the work which has been given them to do, we are not sure but that the things of which they have no need to be ashamed have had as unfavorable an influence on their progress as their acknowledged

faults and deficiencies have exerted. Even the peculiarities which are most honorable to them have worked against their growth as a sect. The leading facts in the history of the Unitarian movement are honorable to its originators, but their effect upon denominational activity has not been advantageous. Nothing is more clear than that the earliest Unitarians of our country had very different objects in view than the founding of a new sect. A distinctive name was forced upon them without their consent. Some, even to the present time, have refused to bear it. They contended for religious freedom more than for any set of dogmas. They did not believe in the doctrine of the Trinity, but opposition to this tenet was secondary to their resistance to all creeds, to every form of sectarian narrowness. With such fundamental principles, they could not have been zealous proselyters. Did ever a sectarian host set out on a war of conquest, with banners flying over their heads bearing such inscriptions as these: "Freedom to interpret Scripture," — "Life before creed," — "Good men are in all sects"? These may be good mottoes to live under; but they are very bad ones to fight under, even though "the weapons of our warfare be not carnal, but spiritual."

Now, the great ideas on which great religious movements are originally based seem to obey the same laws with race and blood. The original peculiarity constantly reappears even in remote descendants, and after whole generations have passed away. Denominations, like individuals, *inherit* unconsciously constitutional tendencies, peculiar temperaments; the acting against which is like going against nature; and so always turns out a failure. It cannot be denied that Unitarianism has always shown the peculiarities of the original stock.

The history of Unitarianism has been unfavorable to denominational activity on another account, and here also without implying aught that is not highly creditable to our cause. The results attendant upon the Liberal movement, whether great or small, have had very little to do with human contrivances. If there was ever a truth which has been allowed to make its own way and speak for itself, and base its appeal on its own simple merits, it is the truth in which we believe as Unitarian Christians. There never has been a system of belief

whose supporters have so thoroughly "renounced the hidden things" of sectarian management. To say nothing of Europe, where exactly the same thing has taken place, in Massachusetts, Unitarianism grew up, so to speak, of its own accord. It spread, no one knew how. Fifty years ago, in order that a minister and a church might renounce Trinitarianism, or rather drop it unconsciously, all that was apparently requisite was, to object to the imposition of a creed, or to allow the old church articles to slumber undisturbed. Aged men found, that, like one of Molière's characters who was surprised at learning that he had been speaking prose all his life without knowing it, they had been preaching Unitarianism all their lives without knowing it. These things being true, what is more natural than that there should be many at the present day who believe that the same indirect influences which planted Unitarianism in New England will foster its growth now? Without indorsing the inference leading to denominational apathy, we cannot but think that there is some truth in this idea. We are confident that, if, during this year, all our pulpits were filled by Orthodox men, nay, even were all our literature destroyed, in a very few years Unitarianism would be stronger than it is now. Many around us share this feeling. Many a layman in our ranks, when blamed for his lack of zeal, would say in reply, if he spoke his true sentiments, something like this: "You ask me to help to promote Unitarianism. The good cause is advancing fast enough already, helped by all the best influences of the time. You want money to print Unitarian writings. Those of Bushnell and Beecher are sold already by thousands. Why do you ask aid for the Cambridge Divinity School, when that of Andover is so flourishing, and teaching, if the Rev. Dr. Dana may testify, such a liberal theology? You tell me more Unitarian ministers are wanted. I can tell you of a score, at least, of Orthodox ones, who preach as good Unitarianism as I hear anywhere. Why disturb the prevalent peace? There is a lull in the strife of controversy. Why frighten us out of a pleasant nap by the sounds of your axes, when the tree is already tottering?"

The conclusion drawn from such opinions is not correct. Orthodoxy is not dead. Dr. Channing's books

are better reading than are those of Dr. Bushnell or Dr. Beecher. Cambridge Divinity School and our own Unitarian Association and our own preachers are doing more for Liberal Christianity, in presenting it in its fuller developments, than are all these various indirect agencies, in the way of teaching its first rudiments. Still, there is enough of truth in such reasoning to entitle those who are swayed by it to more consideration than they usually receive from those who mourn over our want of zeal and earnestness as a denomination.

The best thing, on some accounts, that could happen to our religious body, would be a widely spread and firm conviction that beyond all question Unitarianism is at last really dying out, because its friends are so remiss and cold. This article of the Orthodox creed, in common with other portions of it, our laymen, we suspect, never will believe in, till the records of our past history have perished. Until these are destroyed, we are afraid they will be obliged to bear the charge, sometimes unmerited as well as deserved, of comparative lukewarmness and want of denominational activity and zeal.

We have said that the good points in our history have operated disadvantageously upon our sectarian progress. The same is true of the acknowledged good points in our belief. We do not affirm that there are no defects in our system, and that *they* have not stood in the way of our numerical advance. The peculiarity of our denomination is, that its admitted crowning excellences have had the same effect in impeding its popular advance. To apply this remark to only two of these obstacles. One of the most able tracts published by the Unitarian Association endeavors to show that Unitarianism is adapted to the poor and unlearned, because it is so simple and plain. Does not the history of the popular forms of religion teach rather that such a system is *not* so adapted, if adaptation implies a readiness to receive it on the part of the great mass of men? Is it not with simplicity in religion as with simplicity in style, dress, art, manners? Are not thousands attracted in all these connections, alike by the meretricious, the exaggerated, the not quite true, where one is attracted by their opposites? Again, none will deny that Unitarianism has the great merit "of being free from objectionable extremes."

But is there one among the systems of the *popular* sects of which the same remark is true? There is not one which does not derive its main efficiency, its chief hold upon the popular mind, from the undue prominence which it gives to its great distinctive peculiarity, to, generally speaking, a single truth. A system based on the opposite theory, which *makes no strong points*, suffers in the popular view when compared with these, very much as would a speech whose chief merit is clear, sober statement, when contrasted with that kind of eloquence which men cannot resist even if they would, though they know all the while that its effect would be destroyed were it stripped of its shade of slight exaggeration, and all needful qualification were made. A great deal of what is called the coldness and consequent want of the popular element of Unitarianism, may be traced to the fact that it makes needful qualifications, and is free, and rightly so, from objectionable extremes.

Among the causes affecting the growth and spread of Unitarian opinions there is another still, requiring a brief mention, namely, the opposition they have encountered from other sects. So great is this, that we scruple not to say, that if all governmental interference were removed, and Protestantism, protected from physical violence, were allowed to make its own way in Italy, it would not encounter a greater mass of ignorance and prejudice and misrepresentation than Unitarianism has met in our country, wherever it has been introduced. How often is the Protestant traveller in Italy told, "O, Protestantism is only infidelity: yours is a merely negative system!" Were Protestant preachers to get a foothold in Italy, the very first obstacle which they would have to contend against would be this wide-spread feeling among the populace. How rife is a similar delusion and falsehood in America in respect to our distinctive views, and that even where they have been proclaimed for years! Then, again, unlike most of the sects around us, we have few ties of affiliation, as respects main points, with those who differ with us. A traveller in our land curious about denominational statistics, if he wished to show how little Unitarianism has advanced, would compare our growth with that of the Baptists, the Methodists, the Presbyterians; and of course such a compari-

son would be disadvantageous. As well might a Catholic, supposing Protestantism had had a fair field in Italy for the last forty years, compare its statistics with those of the order of the Benedictines or Dominicans or Jesuits, and then exult over its comparative paucity of numbers. What are the Protestant sects with whose growth that of our own religious body is often compared, but different "orders" of the same Church, all united when Unitarianism is to be attacked, and using every means that they can employ to make it odious as infidelity, or at best a merely negative system?

II. All of the causes and influences which we have thus enumerated, we contend, have a very weighty bearing upon the second division of our subject, which we now propose to consider; namely, how far statistical and other information which may be adduced relative to the influence and actual condition of Unitarianism authorizes feelings on our part of encouragement and hope.

The correct answer to the inquiry, What is the numerical strength of Unitarianism? would be this. The religious body in the United States composed of those who do not receive the doctrine of the Trinity, i. e. the "Christians," the "Universalists," the "Hicksite Quakers," and the "Unitarians," have about twenty-eight hundred societies, and twenty-three hundred ministers. To represent the number of "Unitarian" societies in the United States as giving the strength of Unitarianism, is somewhat as if we should estimate the statistics of Trinitarianism by the number of the "Congregationalists" in New England. The extent of Unitarianism thus viewed is remarkable, when we consider that, forty years ago, Trinitarianism was not avowedly repudiated in more than twenty churches throughout the whole country. The whole number of Unitarian societies — using the term in its distinctive sense — is about 275. Of these, 162 are in Massachusetts, and 22 in Boston. M. Grandpierre says, "They have only a few churches, in Cambridge, Boston, and in one or two other cities of the Union." Maine has 15, New Hampshire 13, New York 13, Illinois 9. In all the Slave States together there are 6, or at most but 7, churches. That this enumeration fully satisfies sectarian pride, or even

reasonable hopes and expectations disconnected with mere sectarian considerations, cannot be affirmed. Still, even in these facts there is much which we may regard with a justifiable complacency.

"Only in Massachusetts are the Unitarians numerous," is often contemptuously said. Those who will examine the statistics of this State, not only with reference to the number of Unitarian churches, but also to the number of schools and benevolent and literary associations found there,—those who know the spirit of her people, and what she has done and is doing for the promotion of all worthy objects,—those who have compared her with other communities in respect to all that constitutes the true glory of a state,—those who consider these things will not count it a small praise that "only in Massachusetts Liberal Christianity has exerted a leading influence during the last thirty years." Further, we are willing to admit, without feeling much chagrin, that Unitarianism has made but very little progress in new States where the work of education is in its infancy, or where "Judge Lynch" holds his courts; and that the same is true of older communities, where repudiation and slavery exist side by side with the most intense bigotry and the most ultra Orthodoxy. Unitarianism and slavery, especially, seem uncongenial. The fact that there are two hundred and sixty-eight societies in the Free States, and only six or seven in the Slave States, is a significant one. Equally noteworthy are the facts, that in the pulpits of two of these societies their ministers were not allowed to preach, because they believed with Dr. Channing in respect to slavery; and that in one of them there still ministers a clergyman who was till lately the editor of the only antislavery paper in the Slave States. Parisian readers of M. Grandpierre's statements, of the Calvinistic school, who share the enthusiasm awakened by the French translation of "Uncle Tom," should bear in mind that, in the States where the scene of that story is laid, Orthodoxy reigns almost supreme. In Virginia, one of the largest States of the Union, which has recently imprisoned and fined a Christian woman for teaching slaves to read the Bible, there is but a single Unitarian society, that at Wheeling.

Besides our societies, there are other religious organi-

rations among us, which, though we cannot look upon the amount of their zeal and efficiency with entire satisfaction, are nevertheless doing much good. They prove, to say the least, that Unitarianism is not quite dead.

"The Unitarian Association," in addition to what it has already done, shows signs of vitality such as it has not before exhibited. A new impulse appears to have been given to its activity by its recently appointed General Secretary. In its efforts to extend the circulation of the writings of eminent Liberal Christians, it has been, during the last year, peculiarly successful. It has been shown that a demand for such exists, of which few even of our most zealous friends were aware. The sale of about one hundred thousand volumes of the Works of Channing within a few years is only one among other proofs of this assertion. The project of raising the sum of fifty thousand dollars during the coming year has been commenced under its auspices, and there is scarcely a doubt that it will be entirely successful.

In addition to the "Unitarian Association," there are several societies moving in a humbler sphere, yet not without useful results. "The Society for promoting the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America" contributes, yearly, sums from fifty to two hundred dollars in amount, to the support of each of several missionaries among the Oneida, St. Regis, Marshpee, and Herring Pond Indians, and also among those at Martha's Vineyard, and gives similar aid to preachers laboring in eight other destitute places among fishermen and borderers. The "Massachusetts Evangelical Missionary Society," not sectarian, but under the influence of Liberal Christians, "The Society for promoting Theological Education," "The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity," "The Children's Missionary Society," "The Society for the Relief of Aged and Destitute Clergymen," founded 1849, — all of these are efficient agencies of Christian benevolence among us. The Massachusetts Bible Society is supported by all the sects, and Unitarians contribute to its funds, and are always represented in its government.

Eight periodicals are not a small number for a denomination so small as ours.

Our theological institution at Cambridge has been

spoken of in rather discouraging terms by some of our friends, and in exceedingly disparaging ones by such writers as M. Grandpierre. It undoubtedly labors under disadvantages, the chief of which is its connection with Harvard College. And yet, as regards the main point of complaint,—the paucity of students,—our readers will find that exactly similar complaints are made by the "Education Society of Massachusetts" among the Calvinists, by President Wayland among the Baptists, and in the Report of the last annual meeting of the Episcopalian Convention held in New York, in connection with their sectarian theological schools. It has been clearly shown that there are needed annually, in this country, to supply vacancies made by death and otherwise, some two thousand new preachers, besides a thousand each year made necessary by the increase of population; and further, that, in all the theological schools in the United States, there were in 1852 but one thousand three hundred and fifty-one students. If a third of these graduated at the end of the year, the supply would be but four hundred and fifty new ministers. In 1852 we find that the whole number of theological students was only three hundred more than it was in 1838. The Cambridge Theological School has averaged more students during the last ten years than it ever did before. In addition to the twenty-seven who are under education there at the present time, there are twenty-six theological students at Meadville, so that there are about twice as many persons preparing for the ministry under the auspices of a liberal theology as there were eight or ten years ago.

The strength and influence of Unitarianism cannot, however, be estimated by such statistics as these. Its practical effects enter also into the question. Whatever may be said by friends, as well as by opponents, about our short-comings, the practical and indirect effects of Unitarianism are not such as authorize the terms of disparagement sometimes applied to the "narrow influence and small results of the Unitarian movement." To some of these practical effects we propose now to refer. One important class of these has reference, not only to the number of noble and beneficent enterprises which Liberal Christians have supported and fostered, but to

those which they have originated. It is not necessary to exaggerate the importance of individuals, who usually are acted upon by influences around, who anticipate others less than is commonly supposed, in order to rightly appreciate those who are regarded as the founders of reformatory beneficent institutions. The Liberal party has furnished, to say the least, its full proportion to their ranks. Dr. Worcester gave birth to Peace Societies. The Temperance movement derived its first impulse from a body of men the majority of whom were of our faith. We do not disparage other sects or other men when we say, that to Horace Mann, now President of Antioch College, the first Secretary of the Board of Education in Massachusetts, and to Edmund Dwight, the cause of elevated education in New England owes its first impulse. The first State Reform School in Massachusetts for the instruction and employment of boys traces its origin to one holding our views, the late Theodore Lyman. The first Institution for the Blind in Massachusetts was established and richly endowed by Hon. Thomas H. Perkins, and until this day remains under the charge of Dr. Howe, well known in Europe, as in this country, as the friend and advocate of every good cause. Nor are these the only Unitarians towards whom the blind have reason to be grateful. "Of the institution for the instruction of the blind in Philadelphia," Mr. John Vaughan, an eminent and zealous Unitarian (says his biographer), was emphatically the founder.

Miss D. L. Dix, who has spent several years in visiting prisons, and who, by her memorials addressed to different State legislatures, has procured the erection of several State lunatic asylums, was the personal friend of Dr. Channing and a member of his church. The first asylum of the kind for superannuated sailors will owe its origin to a large sum recently left, to accumulate for twenty years, by one of our faith.

The first Sunday school in New England was that commenced in Beverly, Mass., in 1810, by two young women, and subsequently merged in the Sunday school connected with Rev. Dr. Abbot's society. The first one established in Boston was in connection with the Rev. Dr. Lowell's society, in 1812. Both of these, as well as

one at Cambridgeport, connected with the church of Rev. Mr. Gannett, preceded the first Sunday school established by the Trinitarians of "Christ Church," which was instituted in 1815.

To the Unitarian body belongs, especially, the honor of having originated and established the Ministry at Large. On the 5th of November, 1826, Dr. Tuckerman entered on the duties of what he called the Mission to the Poor in Boston. December 2d, 1826, "in a painter's loft, under naked beams, surrounded by plain walls, the wind whistling through the casements, he preached his first sermon," to a mere handful of hearers. At the end of a year he had made nineteen hundred visits; and one hundred and seventy poor families were connected with him as their minister. In six months more, two hundred poor families stood to him in this relation. Not until several years afterwards was there in the United States any institution like that which he thus founded.

Nor need we go back to the past to see that Unitarianism has some vitality.

The religious instrumentalities now existing and employed by Unitarians present many encouraging features. Our Sunday schools will compare advantageously with those of other bodies, in all respects. They are considered as necessary auxiliaries to our religious societies.

In 1845, Mr. George Channing, the Domestic Missionary of the American Unitarian Association, estimated the whole number of Sunday-school scholars in our body to be 27,000; and of teachers, 4,800.

The ministry to the poor is still in successful operation. Established, as we have seen, by Dr. Tuckerman, in 1826, it immediately awakened interest in our body, and when its founder left for Europe, on account of his impaired health, it was taken charge of by the "Benevolent Fraternity of Churches." Since that period, the spacious brick chapel in Pitts Street, that in Warren Street, and the stone chapel in Suffolk Street, have been erected by this association of Unitarians.

The Suffolk Street Chapel was built at a cost of \$15,000. Eleven different clergymen of our faith have for longer or shorter periods been employed in this service. The children who have been connected with the Warren

Street Chapel alone number about seven thousand, almost entirely of the poorer classes. The number of families connected at the present time with the two other chapels is five hundred.

The last report gives the annual sum appropriated for the support of the chapels in Pitts and Suffolk Streets as \$ 5,808. The Sunday services held at these chapels constitute but a small portion of the useful instrumentalities employed by them. Evening and Sunday schools, evening lectures, teachers' meetings, sewing circles, schools for instruction in sewing, popular lectures on scientific and other topics, the procuring situations for those out of employ, the rescue of boys and girls from evil association, united temperance clubs, debating societies, the furnishing of books from the chapel libraries, occasional excursions to the country, instruction in singing, are all auxiliaries to Sunday instruction.

The reports of the ministers at large are full of interest. One minister, Rev. Mr. Winkley, speaks of nineteen weekly meetings, of which he attends seventeen. Another, Rev. Dr. Bigelow, has distributed several thousands of useful publications "which bear the impress of no sectarian *mint*." "At times, whole days have been occupied by him with visiting. On one of the winter days, twenty-four Sabbath visits were made, requiring a walk of from four to five miles." "Within that space," he says, "it was my lot to minister to nearly every state of suffering humanity;—to age and widowhood, the sick and feeble, the mourning and bereaved, the obscure and the solitary, the ignorant, frail, tempted, and erring; conditions aggravated for the most part by the pressure of want in some of its gloomiest forms." Another still, Rev. Mr. Cruft, who is not behind either of those just mentioned in the kind or amount of labor which he performs, thus expresses his view of the great objects which should be paramount in all that is done: "Giving alms is but an incidental part of the missionary's work. His great, all-absorbing work is with the *souls* of the degraded and lost; to fill these with the unsearchable riches of Christ, to bring them out from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God." For this, "he threads the lanes and alleys, beats the garrets and cellars, and ferrets them out and labors to come into

personal communion with them." The reports of Rev. Mr. Barnard, of Warren Street Chapel, contain the records of benevolent labors covering a wide field. The sum of \$4,000, though larger than usual, expended last year under his direction, saves to the city ten times that amount. No business man is more industrious than he is in his peculiar work. From five to six hundred children, "whose parents are connected with no other church," enjoy his ministrations on Sunday, and his friendly oversight during the week. "We do not," he says, "desire the slightest interference with their religious opinions. The cause of our Master and the interests of civilization in such a matter as this, lay us under obligations which are superior to the claims, as they ought to be above the jealousies, of mere sectarianism." Extracts as interesting as these could be supplied from the reports of the ministers at large who labor under Unitarian auspices in Charlestown, Salem, Lowell, Roxbury, Providence, Portland, St. Louis, and New York.

We had proposed in this connection to reply at some length to the reproach, — it is made in the book of M. Grandpierre and in various other quarters also, — that Unitarians have never shown great interest in missions. We think we could show, that, though there is much in the Foreign Missionary cause both to awaken and to excite enthusiasm, its results, especially in view of the vast means employed, have not been such as to disarm honest doubt about their comparative usefulness. We are not sure but that it could be proved, that, within a few rods of the banks of the East River in New York, whence the missionary sets sail, there exists as much of heathen darkness and wickedness as there can be found on the banks of the Ganges, — "the benighted region" to which he is bound. Other considerations might be presented, were one inclined, which we are not, to attack the missionary enterprise as conducted by our Orthodox brethren. A better reply to what is said by them of our remissness in these regards is this. "We believe with you in missions, but we differ from you about the best places for them. Let us pursue our objects without clashing. Surely our 'missionary posts' are far enough apart for that. Our 'mission stations' at Boston, Providence, Portland, and St. Louis need not

interfere with yours at Bombay and Shanghai and on the coast of Africa.”*

Unitarians are sometimes reproached for the backwardness which they manifest in comparison with members of other sects, when appeals for pecuniary aid in behalf of worthy objects are made. Though we must regret that they have not done more this way, still the degree of failure and lack here is often greatly overstated. However difficult it may have been in some cases to raise even comparatively small sums for particular objects, however provoking such failure often is, we are confident that the pecuniary liberality of Liberal Christians, in Boston and New York, towards worthy enterprises, is not behind that shown by the members of other sects. To prove this, we need not point solely to Harvard University, as having received from this source, in

* A published discourse preached in Albany, in 1846, by Rev. H. F. Harrington, gives some statistics in relation to these and other points touched upon in this article, which we think are exceedingly striking. Premising that Albany has one small Unitarian society, he gives the following statements. There are in Albany, to a population of 41,000, ten district school-houses, and the average attendance during the year was 2,000. The cost of the school-houses was not far from \$300 each.

In Boston, to a population of 110,000, there are 147 public schools, including one Latin and one English High School. They contain more than 15,000 scholars, and the investment in school edifices is more than \$300,000, i. e. about \$20,000 each.

In Albany the tax raised for support of public schools is 18 cents to each person. In Boston, \$2.

In Albany the number of complaints examined at the Police Court was more than 3,000. In Boston, 2,135, with a population much larger.

In Albany there are 32 religious societies, and Mr. Harrington computes “there are at least from 8,000 to 10,000 persons who have no possible opportunities of religious instruction, if all our churches were filled.” Yet only a single missionary is appointed in this large field. There are at least 1,400 children growing up in ignorance, vice, and crime. No chaplain is supported for the jail or almshouse.

In connection with these details, the author gives what he considers the gross amount of money probably contributed for objects of general philanthropy, in this sum being included “the contributions of Protestant religious societies for all benevolent objects, except such as are immediately connected with their own church organizations, and all other sums from voluntary sources publicly devoted to charitable purposes.” This sum he sets down at \$19,000. In a note he states that the amount is somewhat larger, “he having omitted one item, and having given the average returns from several churches.” But suppose that we add, say \$5,000, as covering this error. How does the amount compare with that annually given in these ways in Boston? The aggregate of its public philanthropy, during the last year, Mr. Harrington states, was not under \$200,000.

One very significant fact remains to be stated in connection with Albany, that, out of the \$24,000 thus contributed, \$9,000 was devoted to the aid of foreign missions.

forty years, over one million and a half of dollars; to the "Cooper Institute," endowed by one "Liberal Christian" to the amount of some three hundred and forty thousand dollars; to the Lawrence Scientific School, endowed by Hon. Abbott Lawrence, also a Unitarian, with a sum equal to one hundred thousand dollars; to the Lowell Lectures, — that most excellent investment for two hundred and fifty thousand dollars; or to many public institutions besides, associated with the names of Gore and Dane and Smith and Eliot and Thorndike and Lyman and Appleton and Lawrence and Grinnell and Graham and Munson and Perkins and Lowe and Brooks. We believe that the large benevolence associated with the names of these more conspicuous enterprises and men is largely imitated in less signal connections. There is scarcely a benevolent enterprise of any description, in any place where our faith is prevalent, which would not be seriously crippled were aid from its adherents withdrawn or withheld. Perhaps no better proof of the prominence of Unitarians in all benevolent enterprises could be offered, than that given by a glance over the list of officers of benevolent societies in Boston. Looking over a list of such which was published in 1848, without the slightest reference to such a conclusion, we find that, out of twenty-six charitable institutions of Boston, not connected with sectarian objects, fourteen, and possibly fifteen, have the office of their President filled by a Unitarian. There are not more than two or three, at the most, which do not count among their other officers those of "the sect everywhere spoken against," — sometimes "spoken against" because of its supposed bad tendencies practically upon the community.

The number of eminent men, public characters, writers, and others, who have adopted our views, has also an indirect bearing on our subject. Among those who have held high offices under our government, are three Presidents (including Mr. Fillmore), Christopher Gore, Commissioner under Jay's Treaty, Samuel Dexter, Secretary of the Treasury, appointed in 1800, Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, and Messrs. Wheaton, Everett, Bancroft, and Lawrence, who have represented our country abroad. The late Chief Justices Parsons and Parker of Massachusetts, and Eddy of Rhode Island, and

Judges Story and Wayne, of the United States Supreme Court, were Unitarians. Chief Justice Cranch, of the United States Circuit Court, and Judge Curtis of the United States Supreme Court, are also of our faith; and the same is true of Judges Parker and Jeremiah Smith of New Hampshire, and of Judge Gilchrist of the same State.

The two Senators of Massachusetts in our national Congress are Unitarians, and so were their immediate predecessors. The office of Governor of Massachusetts, for the last thirty-eight years, has been held by Unitarians twenty-seven years. Of the *thirteen* judges of the Supreme Court and Court of Common Pleas of Massachusetts, seven are Unitarians.

Among the eminent writers (omitting the large number of clergymen of our faith who have distinguished themselves as theological writers) may be mentioned, in the department of history and biography, Belknap, Tudor, Prescott, Bancroft, Sparks, Quincy, F. Parkman; in jurisprudence and politics, Fisher Ames, Webster, Sullivan, Nathan Dane, Judge Story, John Q. Adams; in poetry, Bryant, Longfellow, Sprague, Pierpont, Lowell, Tuckerman; in science, Bowditch, Dr. Prince of Salem, Pierce, Farrar; in elegant literature and criticism, Ticknor, the Everetts, William Ware, Prof. Bowen, George W. Curtis, Hillard, and most of the leading writers in the *North American Review* since its commencement. To this enumeration may be added various female writers, such as Miss Sedgwick, Mrs. Follen, Mrs. Child, Mrs. Butler, Mrs. T. Lee, Mrs. G. Lee, Mrs. Gilman, Mrs. Kirkland, etc.*

The weak point in the benevolence of Liberal Christians undoubtedly is, that they have not given (compared with other religious bodies) so liberally towards objects distinctively religious, as they have towards other objects. It must be granted that there is some reason for this charge, and yet we suspect that, if all the sums given to importunity in aid of religious objects not exclusively Unitarian were added to those which many of our brethren contribute from time to time towards the build-

* We would here acknowledge our obligations, for several facts, to an excellent article on "Unitarianism in the United States," by Rev. F. A. Farley, which makes a part of the volume entitled "Unitarianism exhibited in its Actual Condition," edited by Rev. J. R. Beard, and published in London in 1846.

ing of distant churches, the deficit would be very much less than it appears. The want of interest which our body has shown in the two fields of religious effort occupied by our theological school at Cambridge and the Unitarian Association, is much to be deplored. A Liberal Christian, who thinks of the field already ripe for the harvest, which nothing but denominational supineness, excusing itself oftentimes on the poor plea of dread of sectarianism, has prevented us from reaping, — cannot but wonder that these organizations have been so often allowed to languish on this account; yet the whole truth should be stated. Neither the Unitarian Association nor our theological schools have been fostered as they should have been. Still, the one has received from Unitarians, since 1825, \$ 202,314, or an average of over \$ 7,000 annually, enabling it to employ 212 missionaries, and to print 20,000,000 pages of tracts; and one of the schools has been aided to the amount of \$ 90,000 or \$ 100,000; the Meadville theological institution receiving about \$ 40,000 in addition.

The general view of the bearing of all these instrumentalities, influences, and facts on our condition and prospects as a religious body, does not authorize the disparagement with which the power and influence of Unitarianism are sometimes spoken of, neither is it discouraging. As regards this latter point, nothing is more apparent than the tone of increased confidence prevalent at this time in our ranks. It contrasts very much with that which was manifested only two or three years ago. Our outward condition on the whole justifies it. Our churches in Boston, though much affected by the removal of parishioners into the country, and diminished in number by the loss of one church edifice, under the operation of somewhat similar circumstances which have caused to our Orthodox brethren the loss within a few years of three of theirs, are, with scarcely a single exception, in a more prosperous state than they have been for a long time; and the same is true, we believe, almost universally, of the churches throughout New England. In distant places our cause is advancing. The societies at Chicago and Detroit, for some time languishing, bid fair to emulate those at Buffalo and Syracuse and St. Louis. In San Francisco the Unitarian society is quite promising. In the State of New

York, all our societies, with scarcely an exception, are increasing largely. Within a very brief period two new societies have been established in the immediate vicinity of the city of New York; and since we commenced this article, we have heard of another having been gathered in Jersey City. Those already existing in New York and Brooklyn now number larger congregations, and exert a wider influence, than at any former time.

These, and other facts of recent occurrence, are of an exceedingly encouraging nature. It may be, that, as an organized body, our progress may be slower than we hope. It may be, that the great truths which we value more than sectarian triumphs shall have their progress impeded by the absence of a right zeal, which is in no degree inconsistent with the genius of our liberal faith, and in which we have heretofore been too much wanting. We would fain, however, cherish a hope that this will not be the case, and we think we can find, in some of the recent tokens of new and increased interest, some foundation for that hope.

On two points we feel very confident, and think they could be established by facts. One is, that opposition and impediment from Orthodox quarters is one of the smallest of the obstacles now existing to our progress. Orthodoxy has enough to do to hold its own, without concerning itself with our movements. Its attitude is defensive, not aggressive; — not so aggressive, by far, as it was when it was resolved, some years ago, that an Orthodox church should be built in every village where there was a Unitarian one. We apprehend that, take our towns and villages through the country, our ministers find a very different state of things in this regard from that which existed some ten or fifteen years ago. We suspect the time has gone by, when, even during great revivals, anxious reference shall be needful to possibilities such as were wont to trouble now and then our more sensitive ministers. Though Orthodoxy is far from having lost its efficiency, yet it keeps very much within its own intrenchments; and so gives us a fairer field than we have ever had before. God save us from being slothful husbandmen!

The other point upon which we feel great confidence, justified also by facts familiar to most, is, that our religious system has great advantages because of its re-

markable power of adaptation to different minds. It owes this peculiarity not to its believing too little, — as some pretend, — but to the fact that a large body of belief necessarily covers more space than a small one, and has more points of contact. Thus in some of our parishes it is administered under forms to which few Orthodox men of the liberal school would object, while in other churches still, those who dislike even a leaning in the use of technical terms towards Orthodoxy, and who are pleased only with preachers who share this feeling, are edified and content. Other ministers, most of them following mainly the bent of temperament and judgment in this matter, present Christianity under aspects not opposed to the prevalent tone of conservatism in their parishes, while others still draw around them congregations ultra and radical in their views; and all this happens, not because there is necessarily a reference that is cowardly or having an eye to popularity, but because, besides recognizing individual personal peculiarity, our system of faith itself is large and many-sided. No religious system presents truth under so many different phases as does ours, and, further, no denomination numbers among its adherents so many persons of different minds. It would be difficult to say what is the peculiar type of intellect, or temperament, or character, with which Unitarianism, we mean as a broad, liberal, generous system, most harmonizes. Of Calvinism the reverse is true. A Calvinistic congregation, whether found in conservative Massachusetts or in the Western Reserve of Ohio, in Paris or Boston, in Glasgow or New York, seems to be made up of very much the same people. The type, the mould, is the same. It is not thus with the congregations of our faith, even where they are of long standing. In societies of more recent origin, especially out of New England, the opposite peculiarity is very observable.

A member of an old, established Unitarian church in Massachusetts would be very much amazed at the diversity of training, opinion, sect, and generally of nation, represented in any one of our societies in the State of New York, — to say nothing of the congregations farther west and south. Trinitarianism has nowhere so wide a sweep. No denominational body offers so broad a

platform for multitudes, each individual retaining more or less of peculiarity, to meet upon, as does Unitarianism. On another point we are equally certain. No other sect can deal as ours can with the great social and reformatory questions of the time. Its principles of Biblical interpretation, its loose organization, the entire absence of consideration about "the interests of the denomination," in short, all the peculiarities which cripple its power as a sect, give it a great advantage here. If the great body of earnest men and women, about whose radical and disorganizing principles many are, not without reason in some cases, alarmed, are to be kept within the pale of Christian influence at all, we believe most firmly it will be by administrations which shall breathe the spirit of our distinctive faith as Liberal Christians. We believe, further, that if some of our conservative friends, who have the most to say of the radicalism and vagaries of certain brethren, knew of the service they are rendering in just this way, and to just such classes as those to whom reference has been made, — we believe our conservative friends would learn a new lesson, we will not say of charity, but of faith in the great, the various, the multiform work which Unitarianism is adapted to do, — Unitarianism differing in some respects, it may be, from the type which it generally exhibits in Boston or New England.

III. We have left ourselves barely enough space to speak even briefly under the third and last head of our general subject, namely, the bearing upon our prospects of certain opinions and movements in other religious bodies. Looking at these, with reference had to the progress of ideas rather than to their influence upon the poor triumphs of sect, we can hardly exaggerate the importance of the three "signs of the times" of which we are about to speak.

The first important theological movement in point of time is that made by Dr. Bushnell in 1849, in his work entitled "God in Christ." A few very brief extracts will show its character.

In this able work Dr. Bushnell says of Trinitarians: "They are practically at work in their thoughts to choose between the three [i. e. Persons of the Deity]; sometimes actually and decidedly preferring one to another; doubting how to adjust their mind in worship;

uncertain often which of the three to obey; turning away, possibly, from one in a feeling of dread that might well be called aversion; devoting themselves to another, as the Romanist to his patron saint. . . . The mind involved in a dismal confusion." It is not to be assumed from this extract that Dr. Bushnell is a Unitarian. He is rather what is styled a Sabellian, according to the explanation of the theory of Sabellius given by Schleiermacher. Still, it is very evident that, as the New York Evangelist remarks, "the doctrine of the Trinity as held by the Orthodox he wholly rejects."

From the Orthodox theory in respect to the Atonement he dissents. "He [the Saviour] is regarded, not as a power in the manner of the New Testament, but more as a *paymaster*; not as coming to bring us life and take us to his bosom, but, in literal dogmatic verity, to suffer God's displeasure in our stead, and so reconcile God to us. Taken as he stands, theologically represented, there is nothing given to us of Christ, which is closer to feeling, often, than that he fills out a *judicial* machinery, and is good as a legal tender for our sins." (p. 344.)

His views in respect to the "subjective" nature of Christ's work are plainly expressed. "We declare a great and real truth when we say that the reconciliation of man to God is the *sole* object of Christ's mission." (p. 269.) Dr. Bushnell denies that the system of rites and sacrifices, which he styles "the altar form," had reference to expiation in the ordinary sense of the term. "The animal was simply despatched, as when slaughtered for the table." (p. 224.) "Sacrifices were not intended to serve as any direct exhibition of God's justice or judicial abhorrence of sin." (p. 198.) "The value of the sacrifice terminated principally in the power it had over the religious character, the impressions, exercises, aids, and principles which as a liturgy it wrought in the soul of the worshipper." (p. 225.) In other words, the objective or "altar-form" among the Jews was wholly subsidiary to the "subjective" culture of the heart. "We represent a work as done *outwardly* which is really done *in us*." (p. 254.) Very truly does the New York Evangelist remark: "His is not the objective Atonement of the Orthodox. It has nothing in common with it but the name. It is that of Unitarianism disguised under the semblance of Orthodoxy."

From the recent "Commemorative Discourse" preached by Dr. Bushnell, we gather that the church to which he ministers has fully sustained him in his struggle against the ecclesiastical action of different religious bodies, and that, having withdrawn from "the Consociation," it now occupies the position of an independent church. His congregation has never been so large, and we learn from other sources, that never before have his services as a lecturer and orator before literary and other institutions — especially where young men are their supporters — been so much in demand. Cambridge and Andover theological institutions have both invited him to address them.

We are reminded, also, while considering the subject of heresies among our Orthodox friends, of certain lamentations over the Divinity School at Cambridge, uttered by M. Grandpierre in the pages of "*L'Espérance*." Has he no tears for Andover? Can he have read the pamphlet (published in 1853) of Dr. Dana, than whom no Calvinistic divine possesses more influence, the object of which is to show that the school of the prophets has so fallen away from the faith of its founders, that it has become a nursery of heresy, "so that a minority only of its recent graduates uphold the doctrines of the cross," — meaning by these the distinctive principles of the Andover creed?

"The Conflict of Ages," by Dr. Edward Beecher, is a third "sign of the times." The main interest of this work to Unitarian readers is in the forcible exposition of the irreconcilable controversy between what Orthodoxy teaches of total depravity and the instinctive sense of justice and right inherent in the soul of man. The authority of these sentiments, as tests of the truth of doctrines in respect to God, Dr. Beecher boldly vindicates. The Unitarians, though he thinks they do not make enough account of a sinful nature in man, "have been perfectly right in asserting this." "The existence of the Unitarian body is a providential protest in favor of the great principles of honor and right." Their argument on this point "has a principle of vitality which cannot be destroyed." -

The tone of respectful dissent which he uses towards what he deems the shades of error connected with the

Unitarian view, is in striking contrast with the absolute horror with which he speaks of the Orthodox system in all its phases alike. Of one "experience," perhaps that which is most common in the church to which he belongs, namely, where the Calvinistic view is held without any effort to frame a theory of explanation, he says: "The living under it is living under the eclipse of the glory of God." "Who can describe the gloom of him who looks on such a prospect? How dark to him appears the history of man!" "Mercy now seems to be no mercy." The new-school theory of depravity he treats with as little respect as he does other explanations which have been broached. He asserts that "some of the best of men have ascribed to God in these theories acts more at war with the fundamental principles of equity and honor, than have ever been imagined or performed by the most unjust, depraved, and corrupt of created minds."

Bearing in mind that these are the theories of such men as St. Augustine and Calvin and Woods, and that they are taught professedly in the great majority of the theological schools and pulpits of the land, and that, moreover, the saving clause, the new theory which permits Dr. Beecher, as he thinks, to hold them, has never been received by these teachers, it is hard to conceive of language which should embody more of sweeping condemnation of Orthodoxy. The saving clause, the new theory which can alone reconcile Orthodoxy with right views of the Divine mercy and justice, is, in brief, the idea of human preëxistence and a former fall. If we can believe (Dr. Beecher says in effect) that our natures and capacities for goodness are here perverted and impaired because of previous voluntary transgression in a former state of being, and that we are placed here that we may have one further opportunity, one more chance of recovering what we have lost, and so attaining to salvation, then, though, on any other hypothesis, Calvinism is shocking, monstrous, we may accept its dogma without feeling that we blaspheme the Divine justice and goodness.

We do not propose to examine how far this theory meets the difficulties of the case. This has been already done in the pages of this journal.

The bearing of this work on the question we are considering must be important. The first part of the book will have more influence than the last. Many will "skip the moral," and, taught of the difficulties besetting Calvinism, and confounding Christianity with that system, reject both. Many others, we trust, will perceive that a belief in preëxistence is not the only way of escape from the conclusions of Dr. Beecher; and be thus led to adopt that theory of human nature which we think has far more support in Scripture than has that which the author of the "Conflict of Ages" defends.

One cannot but be impressed by the earnestness which characterizes this attempt to solve a mighty problem. What entire confidence must he have in a favorite theory, who, having succeeded in undermining and knocking away almost all the supports of a large and venerable edifice, so that it seems to stand only by the sufferance of the demolisher, says to anxious observers, "Brethren, be not alarmed! I am only improving the old building. Wait a while and you will find that it will stand all the longer for having its foundations, stone by stone, removed. To those ancient walls, which crack so at every blow of my hammer, I am about to give a coat of varnish that shall fill up all the fissures there, which I and others have made, and lend to the dingy plaster such a bright and cheerful hue, that people who saw it some years ago, in its former ugliness, shall hardly recognize it as the same. Fear not! Be patient, and you will see that all the doubters who shall behold it will marvel at its increased solidity, as well as its rare and new symmetry and beauty!" That Orthodox observers share in the same confidence, so far as we may judge from the criticism of Orthodox journals, is quite doubtful.

We trust we shall not be thought to underrate the importance of the theme on which this writer expresses himself so ably as well as earnestly, if we use another illustration to convey our opinion of the effect of this publication upon our own prospects as a religious body. Dr. Beecher compares the system of Orthodoxy "to a steam-ship whose wheels play in opposite directions, so that she has no power to move ahead." We suspect some of his fellow-passengers will think that the condition of the ship is but a poor plea for his attempt to

scuttle her, or else *beach her* upon the sands of infidelity or Unitarianism; and that others, when they find her sinking, will prefer taking to a Boston-built pilot-boat, even though she have a heretic rig, to going on board of an old-fashioned Andover craft, rigged upon a new principle and propelled by a new power, whose only merit lies in the striking phrase in which its discovery is announced.

There are some other facts of a different nature, which we are almost afraid to refer to, though they are pleasant ones, lest it should be thought that we wish to give them a sectarian bearing with which they have no connection.

What a change in the state of feeling in the city of New York towards Unitarians is shown by the fact, that the Unitarian society of which Rev. Mr. Bellows is the pastor worship in a church owned by Presbyterians. Still more remarkable is the fact, that the Union Theological Seminary, in the most fraternal way, offered the use of their chapel to the same society; and this in a city where Dr. Channing's friends, some years ago, found it very difficult to procure a hall for him to preach in. The heresy of Rev. H. W. Beecher, if it be heresy to advise his hearers to go and hear Rev. Dr. Furness preach a sermon on practical Christianity, has attained a wide notoriety through the public prints. There are many heresies of a similar description which various Unitarian hearers lay at his door.

We do not wish to be understood as arguing from any of these proofs of the progress of thought in the ranks of our Orthodox brethren, that they are on the point of coming over to our side and of taking our distinctive name. Though the conclusions at which they have arrived are not Orthodox, they are not Unitarian in the strict acceptation of the term. Still, we have a right to regard such tendencies as indices that some, at least, of our distinctive principles, which we value most, are making progress, even though they never bear our name.

The broad nature of our subject will excuse, we hope, the length of our article; the circumstance that it was written with reference to an object requiring that various facts gleaned from different quarters should be presented in a comparatively condensed form, will explain why some with which most of our readers are very familiar

have been adduced here. We are not unaware of some of the unfavorable aspects of our cause, but we have felt that the degree in which they exist is often exaggerated by friends. We need to look on the many bright sides of our movement, as well as on the few dark ones. From empty fears, as much as from vain hopes and expectations, we need to be delivered. Presumption and Sloth, in the Pilgrim's Progress, "going to sleep," are not to be imitated. Neither, on the other hand, are Timorous and Mistrust, who went back and gave up all hope of advance "because of the two lions that lie in the way." Are not some unduly frightened by the "two lions," Orthodoxy and Rationalism, which seem to them lying in the way of the progress of Liberal Christianity? We think both can be safely passed by, especially if we are careful not to go too near them, and so we have written in a sanguine and confident, though not, we trust, in an uncharitable or presumptuous spirit.

J. P.

ART. VII.—JUDD'S DISCOURSES ON THE CHURCH.*

DR. BACON of New Haven says, in a note to Mr. Judd, quoted in "The Birthright Church," that "he does not know, but supposes *our* church system to be modelled after our theological ideas." The supposition is a natural one, but a complete error. The Unitarian churches of New England found themselves Unitarian by no sudden revolution. They retained, very naturally, the ecclesiastical arrangements in which they grew up, even in instances where the arrangement or form would seem, to one outside, to press harshly on the integrity of the theology inculcated. Those arrangements had taken form after the revivals of the last century had brought in the notion that conversion is a miraculous and sudden action of the Holy Spirit on certain elect persons. They

* 1. *The Church: in a Series of Discourses.* By REV. SYLVESTER JUDD, Pastor of Christ Church, Augusta, Maine. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1854. pp. 274.

2. *The Birthright Church.* A Discourse by the same Author. "Lo, children are a heritage of the Lord." Second Edition. Printed for the Association of the Unitarian Church of Maine. Augusta. 1854.

were, of course, not what would have been invented by a party, which believed that all men have equal opportunity to turn to God, — and ought to turn to him through all their sins.

A church which supposed that there is no possible fall from grace could consistently establish itself as a close body of persons who had been converted, judging of the qualifications of its own members, and prescribing rules for their admission. But a church which held that there is no moment of a man's life when he is not in danger of falling, — that human life always vacillates, none stand still in virtue or in sin, — would not, in the outset, have created such an organization of believers. A church which believed that the elect only had a share in the blessings of the Atonement, would with consistency restrict to them the commemoration in the Supper of Jesus's life and death. The Unitarian Church, believing that the Atonement is a blessing to all men, would not have the same reason to restrict the Supper to the use of the elect, or those who thought themselves such, alone. The view of baptism taken by these two bodies in the Congregational churches might be supposed to vary in the same way. Those who suppose that the Church increases chiefly by the growth of children in Christianity, and those who suppose that the Church gains its recruits by conquest, must regard baptism differently from each other. Those who suppose all children are born innocent would naturally regard their connection with the Church as different from that conceived of by those who think they are born depraved. In fact, however, the division of the Congregational body did not generally result in any formal diversity in their administration or church order. In many of the old churches the old, unsectarian creeds of the early settlers were still in use. They offered no especial stumbling-block to persons invited to be "professors." And in consequence of this, in new Unitarian churches, which had their covenants to form, it has been the general arrangement that some broadly expressed creed should take the place which the declaration of a sudden change of heart took under the Orthodox system, when one of the elect was admitted to church-membership. The simple fact of which we have spoken, that our Unitarian churches

made no formal secession from Orthodoxy, but that Orthodoxy quite as often seceded from them, is reason enough why there should never have been any formal establishment of a church system, based upon the essential points of Unitarian theology.

In every Unitarian church, however, the theology believed has of course interpreted and bent the old ecclesiastical order. In none of our churches has the distinction between "professors" and "non-professors" ever been as sharply marked as in Orthodox congregations. Our Sunday schools have been distinctly conducted on the idea that the children are growing up in Christ. And we suppose that more and more generally has baptism been administered to any children offered for baptism, without regard to the church estate of their parents. It has been generally admitted that the old ecclesiastical organization is founded only on its own supposed convenience. It derived this convenience from the fact that people were used to it in our congregations. It had its advantages; and its disadvantages must be covered, as well as might be, by the generous Christian spirit to be nursed in the whole society.

The historical fact that "the primitive meaning of the word *church* (*ἐκκλησία*) is assembly or congregation" has never been controverted. Our churches and ministers have recognized the fact, also, that "this is the meaning which it always bears in the New Testament and in the writings of the ancient Christians, except where used in an extended sense to designate the whole community of believers." This statement is in the words of Dr. Lamson, in his *Dudleian Lecture* of 1834, where he also says: "The term," when not used in that extended sense, "was always employed in the New Testament, or by primitive antiquity, to signify the body of believers accustomed to meet for public worship in one place, under their own officers,—that is, *the whole parish*." Nor has there ever been any disposition in our churches to restrict the term "believer" to the number of those who had acceded to the various covenants of different churches, or were communicants. Without any reference to such a profession, persons are appointed teachers in our Sunday schools, and agents in our charitable societies. It is impossible that it should be otherwise,

with any regard for that right and duty of personal private judgment which is the centre of the whole Unitarian system.

Nor has there ever been any reason why, at one specific time, any general protest should be made as to the incongruity of this state of things, — which harmonizes as well as it can the ecclesiastical system arranged by the friends of Whitefield with the theological opinion which reverses his favorite dogma. It excites attention rather in separate neighborhoods, at different times, when a new church is established and makes its own regulations. In such a case, who is to regulate, for instance, the admission to the Communion? Those who are elect? No one in a Unitarian church dares claim to be. Those who were communicants elsewhere? They have, very likely, acceded to a dozen different covenants in as many places of worship, nor have any of them any desire to claim, under our religious view of the Communion, any precedence, on that account, over others. Shall those lay down the rule who wish to unite in the service? It must be then a rule wide enough to admit them all; and mere consistency requires that it shall be wide enough to admit all others who wish to unite in it, also, when they, in turn, shall apply. Such a state of things naturally brings up, in such a community, the question of the relation of "church" and "congregation," — which settles itself variously, by one arrangement or another, as the freedom of congregational usage enables each church for itself to adjust it.

It has happened in this way, that there has been no distinct effort, so far as we are aware, before that made so zealously by Mr. Judd, to set forth in systematic order that simple, primitive, and efficient ecclesiastical arrangement which really befits Unitarian theology, and which it would have always worn here if a generous respect for the usages in which our older churches were founded had not retained those customs after the older theology was liberalized. All the different points of this system have been discussed, undoubtedly, in different forms. That growth, and not conquest, is the law of Christ's kingdom in Christian lands, was a matter settled with us before Dr. Bushnell proclaimed it. Baptism has been explained as the pledge of the Church to the

religious education of children. The invitation to the Communion has been offered more and more widely; and several of our churches have removed all distinction of organization between communicants and non-communicants, — inviting all who come to worship to participate in the Lord's Supper. But, still, Mr. Judd had no predecessor among us who had attempted to unite in a system these more liberal views and arrangements; to set in order the reasons for a more simple and generous ecclesiastical arrangement than that which our churches inherited.

He attempted it most eagerly. How eagerly, only those know who heard his preaching or who knew him well. To rescue the word "church" from its technical meaning, to reproduce among Christians the idea of the active energy of the Church of Christ, was the central effort of his hearty, vigorous, practical life. In the descriptions of ideal church order in "Margaret" and "Richard Edney," he described his working church. In "Philo," he made his little children sing in it, and the angel Gabriel hold intercourse with them as they did so. His views of devotional and theological literature were all determined by the strength which any new book or essay gave to the effort to establish *the Church* on a footing as broad as the state rests upon, or the family. His talk was full of this. His speeches at our conventions always binged upon it; and in his own pastoral charge of Christ Church in Augusta, Maine, he labored year after year to bring it about, in some degree, there, and with a measure of success which must have gratified him. In Maine he was surrounded by a cluster of earnest Unitarian churches and ministers who shared his views, and the "Association of the Unitarian Church * of Maine" owed its formation, as we have always supposed, in no small measure, to his influence; as an exhibition of that mutual interest and missionary spirit which he knew must mark any church founded on living faith. At the time of his death he had prepared the elaborate sermon which he called "The Birthright Church," as a condensed statement of his views, which he wished to preach at the Thursday

* Not of the Unitarian churches of Maine, as it is misprinted in the Unitarian Register.

Lecture in Boston. He died before the opportunity came, but the wide circulation of that discourse has made its title, and the principles it sustains, generally known.

At the time of his death, also, he had suggested the publication of a "Series of Discourses by several Clergymen of the Unitarian Church of Maine," upon "The Church." With a very proper appreciation of his wishes thus expressed, and of the master purpose of his ministry, his brother, Mr. Williams, has now collected such a volume from his own parish sermons. And they appear now, without other connection, it is true, than such as sermons can have which are delivered at different times in the same pulpit, but still bearing so regularly upon their subject as to present it, as a system, where the influence of each part upon the other can be studied fairly.

Of this system, as we have said, the leading ideas are presented in the separate discourse called "The Birth-right Church." From that sermon we take these statements of its principle:—

"What, specifically, do I propose? I would have the church resume the position in human society which God designed it to hold. There are three, and but three, great, eternal, and divine organizations of human beings,—the family, the state, the church. The first organizes the conjugal element, the second the political element, the last the religious element. The first gives us a home, the second a country, the third, heaven. The symbol of the first is the fireside; of the second, in ancient parlance, the throne; of the third, the altar. These three are holy, and have their foundation in the unalterable texture and appetency of the human mind.

"In each of these all men are. To each of them every human being sustains a fundamental *birth-relation*. We are born into the family, into the state, into the church. We continue in them all, until by due process we are disowned from the first, banished from the second, excommunicated from the last. Vain is the Romish notion that one can be *baptized* into the church; vain the Calvinistic notion that one can be *converted* into it. We are where our fathers are by a prime law of God in the universe.

"I would, then, have a church for the masses, and for the children, as I would have a state or family for them. I should as soon think of giving up the state or family as the church. I would give to every man a home, a country, and a church.

"So much for the general idea. But, in this land, we are as we are, and must do as we can. Socially, and in a more limited

sense, and adapting ourselves to a condition of things we cannot well alter, what shall be done? I would keep ever in mind certain principles. A church for the masses, and a church for the children. The church is an inheritance. The children of the church belong to the church. A law of increase from within.

"Let us, however, apprehend distinctly one thing. The church is not that which has in its keeping and observes the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper alone. This is a popular and a pernicious heresy. These are ordinances, but not all the ordinances. Preaching is an ordinance, public prayer is an ordinance; and one ordinance is as sacred as another. The church comprehends all the ordinances. They are all parts of Christian service, all means of grace alike. The church comprises, as its great day, the Sabbath; as its great book, the Bible; as its great head, Christ; as its great fellowship, the whole body of saints in heaven and on earth. It comprises all the ordinances; its peculiar devotional ordinance is prayer, its peculiar choral ordinance is singing, its peculiar instructional ordinance is preaching, its peculiar festal and commemorative ordinance is the Lord's Supper.

"Let us understand, then, that the idea of the church implies all these things; one as much as another, the whole as well as a part. I would root out the notion that a part of the church service is for one set of people, and another part for another. In entering the church, I would have every man enter the whole reality that the church is. I would have the masses and the children feel and acknowledge that the whole church is theirs, not only its Sabbath, and its Bible, and its singing, but its communion likewise. I would do away with the notion that a different moral, spiritual, or religious responsibility rests upon one man than upon another. If it is the duty of one man to pray, it is the duty of all men to pray. If it is a sin for one man to dance, it is a sin for all men to dance. If it is the duty of one man to partake of the communion, it is the duty of all men. If it is the duty of one man to act for the poor, or the vicious, or the enslaved, it is the duty of all, each according to his several ability. I blush to think of asking a man to pay me money to uphold the church, to preach Jesus to him and his family, while I will not admit that man and his family to unite in the commemoration of the death of Christ. I blush to think of asking a man to come to unite with us in prayer and praise, in instruction and exhortation, while I will not let him unite with us in communion.

"If there be a school of highest Christian discipline, a circle of highest Christian culture, a theatre of highest Christian action,

a place of highest Christian life, peace, enjoyment, I contend that not only the children, but the great mass of the community, should be included in it. And such a school, circle, theatre, place, is the church. I would take this which we call the church, with all its awfulness and beauty, all its beatitudes and obligation; and not wait to see if I can get here and there a man into it; but take it and carry it right under the whole bulk of the rising generation, and endeavor that they shall all be in it. I would carry it under the yet unborn generations, and see to it that all share in it as their birthright.

“Some are tempted to demolish the pale and have no church; others are painfully anxious to augment its numbers. I see no possible escape from these difficulties, but first to depress the pale wholly out of sight, and then to bring it up with a wider sweep around the whole worshipping congregation.” — *Birthright Church*, pp. 27, 28, 37 – 40.

These are only the condensed statements of practical results, to which tends the reasoning of all the sermons in the remarkable volume now published; — reasoning singularly clear, resting upon statements singularly careful, and urged with a spirit which must win commendation from all. For in all its eagerness there is never a sneer at an antagonist, and nowhere what will be blamed as an intentional overstatement, or an unmanly evasion of difficulty. We beg no reader to be so careless as to pronounce judgment on these condensed statements of results, without reading the argument which leads to them. Let no one imagine that he sees, at a glance, objections, which may have escaped the author's observation or memory. Let no one undertake to reply to him, on a view of a part of the system of church order which he lays down. For the book itself will convince any one, that, in his mind, all the various parts hung together, lent strength to each other, and by each other were supported. Especially we ask, that no one mistake this short paper of ours, with the few extracts which we are able to make from these Discourses, for the careful, condensed, and cumulative argument of the author; and that no one may suppose, because we leave a weak point in our short exposition of his views, that it is so left, even in the sermons which he delivered unconnected, in his exposition of it to his own people.

His enunciation of this system begins with a discourse

on Baptism, showing that water baptism is simply a symbol of the baptism of the Spirit, and especially that infant baptism is "not, indeed, a sign of the purification of children, but a sign of that purity *into which it is hoped children may grow*. It is a sign of that perpetual purity which ought to reign over the heart and the conduct of childhood." In later discourses, the duties of the Church in preserving this purity are declared. With this introduction, the next sermon is on Gospel Conversion, and lays down the doctrine of conversion on which the whole book and its system of ecclesiastical order turns. "How far does *not being* converted, in the sense attached to that word, furnish a reasonable disqualification for duties that lie before us?" An argument on the Gospel use of the words "convert" and "be converted" follows, in answer to this question.

"What is the meaning of the word 'conversion'? It is turning, or turning round. It is the Latin form of the Saxon expression *to turn*. It signifies to turn from one state or condition or mode to another. The corresponding Greek word means this, and no more. The original word in the New Testament is translated, indiscriminately, *to turn* and *to be converted*. Not only is the whole man spoken of, in the New Testament, as turning, or being converted, but parts of a man are thus spoken of. Paul speaks of some who turn away, convert, their ears from the truth. Some in their hearts turned back again, were converted, unto Egypt. Again, we read that Mary turned herself back and saw Jesus, converted herself. Jesus *turned himself* about, was converted. 'If the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it. If it be not worthy, let it *return* to you again.' Here we get a very precise idea of the word. So the unclean spirit is represented as saying, 'I will *return* into my house whence I came out.' 'Neither let him which is in the field *return back* to take his clothes.' 'And the shepherds *returned*, glorifying God.' 'Ye were as sheep going astray, but are now returned [converted] unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.'

"Again, this verb is almost always active in the original, where it is passive in the translation. This people have closed their eyes, 'lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and should be converted' (*ἐπιστρέψωσι*), literally, should turn, or return, 'and I should heal them.' 'If thy brother trespass against thee seven times a day, and seven times a day *turn again to thee* [be converted to thee], thou shalt forgive him.'

‘Repent ye, therefore, and *be converted*,’ return, turn, or convert yourselves. Indeed, I do not recall an instance where the verb in the original has the passive form. But the translation sometimes gives the word in the active sense of the original. Thus: ‘Many of the children of Israel shall he [John] *turn* [convert] to the Lord their God, and he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias to *turn* [convert] the hearts of the fathers to the children,’ &c.

“This is the way the matter stands in the Bible. And now, in the light of divine truth, I ask again, What is the meaning of the pretence that a man cannot do his duty to God, to his own soul, and the Church, until he is converted? Men are sometimes likened to sheep going astray. What language shall we use to them? What shall they reply to us? Suppose we say, ‘You ought to be in the fold, you ought to go back to your Shepherd,’ shall they reply, ‘We know it, but we cannot do so until we are converted’? What is going back but conversion? Suppose we say, ‘Instead of continuing to go on in this way, you ought to turn back and go home.’ If they, owing to some deep, inveterate prejudice, fail to perceive the equivocal in the words, ‘We cannot turn back until we are converted,’ we should have to explain to them that these two ideas are identical. As the Apostle says, ‘Ye were as sheep going astray, but are now returned [converted] unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.’” — pp. 16–19.

This sermon, and parts of those which follow, dwell upon the wounds inflicted upon human responsibility by the false notion of conversion. We have little doubt that Mr. Judd was right in his estimate of the evils it has inflicted. He sums them up, and presents the true view, in the following passage:—

“The two notions of the innate corruption of human nature and of miraculous conversion are actually consuming the religion of New England; I mean, they are filling our cities and towns, our churches and families, with those who believe they have nothing to do with religion or the Church, except in that mysterious contingency to which I have adverted. God gives it to us, my friends, — reverently and without presumption, yet positively, I say it, — God gives it to us to rescue and preserve the religion of our country. The Church, God’s own Church, that which is the pillar and stay of the truth, that which invokes reason and common sense, (without which religion cannot stand up long anywhere,) which allies itself to humanity and cleaves to the simple word of God, — in a word, the true Church, is our refuge and our hope.

“ My friends, let us listen to the message God addresses to us. ‘ Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way, take up the stumbling-block out of the way of my people.’ The stumbling-blocks in the way of truth are obviously such as error puts there ; the stumbling-blocks in the way of our individual progress in truth are such as a false education has placed in our way. One of these obstacles is that which I have now commented upon, that one cannot do his duty until he is converted. Let us, my friends, remove it out of the way. ‘ Not being converted ’ really exempts you from no duty, discharges you from no obligation, gives you quittance from no commandment ; no, not for an hour. If you are a sinner before God, your duty is to leave off your sins and turn to or be converted unto God. If you do not pray, your duty is to pray. No plea of non-conversion can excuse you for an instant. If your child runs into the street, and you send for him to come back, does it content you that he replies, ‘ When I am converted, I will go back ’ ? You send him to school, and he plays truant, and wanders down to the river. When one speaks to him, and urges him to return to school, shall he take refuge in the same preposterous reply ? And yet that reply is no whit less absurd in respect of religious duties than it is in the cases just supposed.” — pp. 26, 27.

Certainly there is nothing in this view but the simplest statement of the Unitarian theology on this matter. But it is from this statement that the whole argument and system of the book proceed. In this system, Christian obligations are universal, — the technical formal distinction between Christians who are professors and Christians who are not professors vanishes. It is, as we have intimated, perfectly true that this distinction is one that, in our churches, has none of the exaggerated weight which it assumes in the orthodox communions. But the argument presented here, against the worth of that distinction, is addressed to all the world, and it will be a justification of our habit, while it is a challenge to them to defend theirs. The universality of Christian obligations is treated in the third sermon, and leads, of course, at once to what is often spoken of as if it were the whole of Mr. Judd’s view, his sense of the necessity of an open communion. Those who will follow his book through will see that that necessity is but one of the necessities of his system. He speaks of it in these passages : —

“ There is the duty of the baptism of children ; where in the

Bible is it said the children of *professors* shall be baptized? If it is one parent's duty to have his children baptized, it is the duty of every other. It is the duty of every man according to his ability. If you can understand this rite, if you believe in it, if you have a proper sense of it, you certainly have the capacity and the opportunity, and it becomes your duty, to conform to it.

"There is the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; we know about this; we know how it is viewed; but can you show me the least warrant for the prevailing scruples? can you show me one line of Scripture that limits this ordinance to a scant and select portion of a Christian community? Christ says, Do this in remembrance of me. Can you tell me why it is my duty to thus remember him, and not yours? 'O, but you are a professor!' It is not one whit more my duty than yours. Have you intelligence, capacity, and opportunity therefor? Answer me that. Therein is contained the key to your duty in this matter.

"You see, my friends, where the application of this subject brings us. I have no design in what I say to inveigh against anybody or anything; my single aim is to rectify the conditions of religious obligation. I wish to snatch a burden that has been unnaturally and unwarrantably laid upon a few, and distribute it amongst all. Granting that certain people have taken upon themselves these duties, they have no right to any exclusive distinction thereby. The mass of our people, like serfs in despotic countries, like slaves in our own, under the present system have grown supine, dull, indifferent to their duties, privileges, and obligations. I would arouse them to a sense of what they are losing. I would kindle them, so to say, to some purposes of rebellion against this usurpation. I would incite them to the resumption of their God-given prerogatives. A professor of religion has no more right, and is under no more obligation, to pray, to have family prayer, or make public prayer, than you. Each one of you has the same right, and is under the same obligation, to do so. I care not what the clergy may say, — I care not what the popular sentiment has sanctioned, — I care not what the prevailing custom is; it is all wrong, — wrong before God, wrong in the light of the Bible, a wrong to our deepest convictions.

"In the eleven years that I have been pastor of this church, I have never yet preached a discourse solely and pointedly to technical professors, as such; and for the reason, that every obligation that rests upon them, rests with due weight upon every man in the parish according to his ability. Every man of us is bound to live well, not according to his profession, but according to his intelligence, capacity, and opportunity. Here

is a poor person to be relieved, a sick man to be prayed with and comforted, a vicious man to be reformed ; it is not the professor's duty to do it solely and exclusively, it is every man's duty according to his ability. The great mass feel that they have nothing to do but sin ; they are not expected to pray, they may not commune, they may not participate in the public exercises of religion, and so they are left to abide in their sins. Yet out of the goodness of their hearts they come with their money, and ask to be permitted to pay a little towards the church expenses and the church needs, and their money is always well received. Bad, most bad, most unchristian state of things ! Let us do what we can to change it." — pp. 44 — 46.

" What is the Church ? " is the question asked in the fourth sermon. Answering the question by the simple tests that the Church is the pillar and stay of the truth, that Christ is its head, and that it teaches the purpose of salvation by Christ, Mr. Judd states boldly his Unitarian faith, — which he was never ashamed of, nor disposed to keep out of sight, — by saying that this day the Unitarian body is the Church. It is the pillar and stay of the truth, because its aim is the simple truth of Scripture. It acknowledges Christ as its head ; and not in creed, council, king, or pope does it find any other. And it teaches the method of salvation originating in the wisdom of God, and developed through Jesus of Nazareth. This faithful maintenance of a Unitarian faith as the life of the Gospel and the means of saving the world, is a characteristic of all Mr. Judd's writings. He had tried the experiment of Orthodoxy, and had had enough of it. There is no trimming towards Calvinism or Whitefieldism in his vital religion. There is no effort to make the language of two communions harmonize when their tendencies point exactly apart. He believed in his soul that God would save the world by the simplicity of the Unitarian's faith, and he never hesitated to say so.

Proceeding in that spirit, from the assertions that we are the Church, and that the obligations of religion press upon us all, he considers the obligation which each man sustains to the Church. This obligation comes upon him at his birth. Because born in a Christian land, he is born to Christian obligation. He cannot shake off that obligation till he is old enough, by formal protest, to disown Christianity, to renounce its moral

code,—and to surrender every benefit Christianity has heaped upon him. As children are members of a family, as they are born into allegiance to the state, so they are members, at birth, of the Church, and born into allegiance to the Church. This point is pressed with great zeal, and illustrated in several forms. It needed, perhaps, no other argument, to a Christian community, than the authority of Paul,—that the children are *holy* even where but one parent believes.

“Paul, alluding to the question whether a Christian might marry a heathen, says, if two persons are so married, let them not separate,—‘for the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were your children unclean; but now are they holy.’ ‘Already,’ says Dr. Neander, commenting on this passage, ‘the children of Christians were distinguished from the children of heathen, and might be considered as belonging to the Church.’ ‘We have here,’ he adds, ‘an indication of the preëminence belonging to children born in a Christian community.’”—p. 71.

This argument is strengthened by a very curious parallel with the Abrahamic system,—and to orthodox readers by a very striking confirmation which it finds in the theory of baptism presented by Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D.D. in his little book called “The Baptized Child,” in the doctrine as to children’s relation to the Church of the old Puritan standards, and in Dr. Bushnell’s convincing statement of it. It seems to need only the following caution:—

“I have a few explanations to make. I have used the word *hereditary*. I think I am not misunderstood. *I do not mean that personal character is hereditary*, I do mean that *that which is potent in forming personal character is hereditary*. *I do not mean that virtue is hereditary*, I do mean that *the supports and incentives to virtue are hereditary*. I do not mean that regeneration is hereditary; I do mean that *the divine means and method of regeneration are hereditary*. I say the Church is hereditary, as I say the State is; and that there is no other foundation for the perpetuity of either. The Bible is hereditary, the Sabbath is hereditary.” This that we call Christ Church is an heritage; this building, or some other in its place, we shall transmit by natural succession to our children, as we have received it from our fathers; this worship is conveyed in like manner, the influence of this church, its organic life, our princ

ples, our truths, our liberality, the form and fashion of our thoughts, we likewise send down." — pp. 127, 128.

At this stage of the argument of this book, there comes in the view which will strike Unitarian leaders as having the most of novelty and requiring the most of caution. It is presented in the two sermons, "We send Children to Heaven, but dare not admit them to the Church," and "Children to be Communicants." We do not wish to substitute any argument of our own for these two careful sermons. We will recur to the doctrine of them again, after following the general argument of the volume to its conclusion. The sermons which follow are on the duty of the Church in bringing up its children, in training all members of Christ, indeed, who are within its influence, to a Christian standard higher and still higher. There is no use in speculating as to admission to a church, if the church does nothing when its members are admitted. In view of these sermons, it will be owned, we believe, that Mr. Judd's system is not simply a latitudinarian view. It gives more stringency to church duty, and more field for church action, than any Unitarian book we know. The children born in the Church are given to the Church to train to Christ. Let it train them. Let it surround them with Christian influence. From the very first dawn of their responsibility, let them know that they, little children even, have a responsibility as Christians. Never let them get the notion that they may grow up to a certain age, indifferent, useless, even irreligious, and then may expect some miracle, or some eloquence, to convert them from that indifference. Such trust has the Church under this system of the birth-relation of children to the Church. Certainly such a system cannot be charged with shaking off responsibility, with a desire to reduce the standard of Christian duty. After presenting such duty, the book comes to its statement of the value of the Communion. The reader is now ready for it; for the whole book has been disabusing him of the popular notion that "the Church" is simply a body associated to partake of the Lord's Supper. It has a world of other duties, of which this is one of the symbols and means. From this discourse, our limits permit only the extract which follows. After

saying that on Liberal Christians depends the continuance of this Christian ordinance, so far as the New England Congregational Church is concerned, Mr. Judd urges, for different reasons, the necessity of reviving it. Among others:—

“I would revive it for the sake of its cementing element. A free participation in the Communion promotes the beauty, the edification, and strength of the local Church. What sight could be more pleasing than this large body of men, women, and children, in fellowship with one another, banding together for the highest spiritual purpose, and bearing testimony to their mutual interest in the great salvation? Having eaten and drunk one with another, having shared together the hospitality of our Lord, having sat down together in that banqueting-house where the banner over us is love, would not our hearts be more closely knit, our contrarieties be extinguished, and our whole life move on in greater harmony and satisfaction? Such an exercise would seem to be ‘an opening of the way, a highway for our Lord.’ Could the example spread, if there could be a general and devout observance of this rite in every congregation, could there be at some season of the year a mass Communion, a meeting of the entire city to celebrate their Saviour’s death, truly we should feel that the millennial day had dawned. By such a spectacle our youths would early become wedded to the Church, nor would the busy pursuits of manhood alienate them from it.” — pp. 252, 253.

Such is an outline of the system to which Mr. Judd devoted the best efforts of his life. We trust we have said enough to show that these were more than an exertion to obtain an open communion. The system supposed an open communion as one of its necessary features. But it was only one feature of a system which he thought necessary to the fair and complete influence which Unitarian Christianity is to have in the world. New England has done with revivals, if a refusal to be moved by them proves anything at all. At the same time, New England is more religious than it ever was, if an increase of beneficence, an additional eagerness of inquiry, and a diminution of bigotry are evidences of religion. To supply that religious sentiment with a vigorous religious training, something different is needed, then, from Whitefield’s system of revivals, from any preaching of a miraculous conversion, or from

any parody of such preaching. We hold that this is needed,—that the Church throw its arms around all children born within its influence, train them, care for them, and instil into their young life such notions, such early impressions, that at school, in their apprenticeships, or at college, they shall be helpers in the work which God has given to all. The Church needs this, also,—that every member always feel himself a child, with an infinite growth still before him. As the Church enters into this work and this feeling, it will see its way clearer and clearer to different duties and relations now obscure. Men are surprised, now, at the idea of admitting to the communion-table children younger than the age at which people have been accustomed to expect “conversion.” The surprise is very natural. Yet no one is surprised to read, that, in the thorough Christian training of the primitive Church, children remembered and commemorated Christ, just as their fathers and mothers did. In special instances, now, no one is surprised that they wish to. We remember a lovely child, who asked her mother, after the communion service, why she had eaten the bread which was brought to her; and when it was explained to her, she said, “I am sure I love Jesus, mother; may I not do what he asks, as you do?” The request was made so eagerly, that her mother did not venture to refuse;—and who will doubt that she was glad she had assented, when, before the promised communion came, God called the child to himself, and she was in the higher communion of heaven? The surprise will vanish gradually, as our churches admit in form what they do in reality, that the communion is a service for sinners and the weak, and not for saints and the strong. It will vanish as we really train children, not simply to good morals and deportment, but to specially *Christian* motive and *Christly* life. As our churches enter more and more heartily into this work, we are sure they will be putting the age of a first communion lower and lower;—they will be more disposed to yield to the ready faith of intelligent boyhood and girlhood the means for quickening resolve, for giving efficacy to repentance, for stability in life, for close, personal attachment to the Saviour, which now they reserve, in general, for Christians who are full grown.

Indeed, as year after year the idea of occasional convulsions in our churches, by which men *are converted*, gives place to the idea, of a germination and growth, under daily influences of God's spirit, by which children grow in divine life and all men turn daily to the Light of the World, the great discussion of this volume will become simpler and simpler. It rests on a most hearty sense of the necessity of Christian influence for the world's salvation in every step of its progress. Christianity, and that only, is to be the light of science, — art, letters, manufactures, commerce, — and all life indeed. A Christian church is to labor to give that light to each and all who need it. And the Christian obligation to labor in the effort of that church is upon all who are born within the flow of such blessings. To all men comes the call thus made for Christian labor. To all men, then, by a fair reciprocity, is offered the help granted in Christian institutions. From all men we claim that they carry Christ's light further. To all men, then, we offer every ray of its beams. That all men are tempted, and are in danger of falling as they bear along the ark of such salvation, we acknowledge. We do not, then, refuse to any, because he is weak, the means of strength which Christ has offered, if he thinks he can find strength in them. The highest culture, again, that he can gain in this Christian life, shows that there are fields yet higher to be sought for. We make no claim, then, even for him who has gained the most, as if he had attained already. But we strive to organize the Church, and to give it efficacy, by giving to all a share; and we make this its foundation principle, that it is an organization which seeks to promote the continued growth of all.

E. E. H.

NOTE TO ARTICLE ON "AN ORTHODOX VIEW OF THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST."

In our last number, we instituted a brief criticism upon the principles of interpretation adopted and applied by a writer in the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*," in an essay upon "The Temptation in the Wilderness." Our respectful and friendly regards to—

wards the writer of the essay disposed us to pursue our criticism in a kindly spirit, with sole reference to a great issue involved in it. The central point of the discussion concerned what we represented to be a wholly arbitrary and subjective use of a principle of interpretation, when applied to language admitted to be more or less metaphorical, and to require more or less of a departure from its literal meaning. The writer of the essay, the Rev. Dr. Stearns, denied the *visible* or *bodily* presence of Satan at the temptation, and construed metaphorically all the *acts* and all the *words* alleged by the letter of the narration to have been *done* or *spoken* by him, while at the same time the writer held that fidelity to the text requires a belief in the *spiritual* and *actual* presence of the Tempter as a real being, and in his power to make wicked suggestions to the Saviour. We maintained that the same principle which Dr. Stearns recognizes to a certain extent, — we say arbitrarily, — when consistently applied throughout this narration, and in other passages of Scripture, would lead to the conclusion usually adopted by Unitarians, that Satan is not a real being, but a personification.

We have received from Dr. Stearns a courteous and brotherly communication, in which he expresses the opinion that in one part of our criticism we have “strangely misrepresented” and “done great injustice, not intentionally,” to his view, by implying that he “could seriously maintain that there are mountains on earth from the top of which a man can *literally* see all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time.” Now it is a matter of sincere regret to us, that one whom we esteem so highly should even think that our language does him any injustice. We have carefully weighed our language on the point referred to, and, in deference to his judgment, will say that the cast of one of our sentences may possibly convey a meaning to which he objects. In justice to ourselves, however, we must add that we cannot see that we have erred as he thinks that we have. We will therefore make what amends are in our power to Dr. Stearns, by copying at length the whole paragraph embracing his remarks upon the Third Temptation.

“The only remaining difficulty which needs to be explained, is contained in the declaration, that Satan showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them in a moment of time. According to the free manner in which the word *all* is used in Scripture, we need not suppose that the Saviour had a view of *every* kingdom on earth, or even of the major part of the kingdoms. It is said that all Judea, and all Jerusalem, and all the country round about Jordan went to John’s baptism. The meaning obviously is, that vast multitudes went, though perhaps not a fifth part of *all* the inhabitants. We understand, then, by the words under consideration, that the Saviour had an instantaneous view of the leading kingdoms of the earth. These may naturally have come

before him as the vivid conceptions of a mind highly excited by the circumstances in which it was placed, and the influences which were upon it. The laws of Scripture language would be fulfilled, we think, by this supposition, though, as already shown, the idea of going to Jerusalem and up the mountain, only in mind, would require violence done to the text. For us to say that we went to Boston, and to the top of the State House, or that we went to the top of the White Mountains, would be to imply, if we gave no notice to the contrary, that we did these acts literally. But if we should say that, standing alone on the top of a mountain, and pressed with most trying thoughts, we saw all the kingdoms of the world in a moment, we should expect people to understand that we saw them as vivid conceptions. We suppose, then, that the Saviour saw these kingdoms as vivid mental conceptions, so vivid, perhaps, as to become almost momentary illusions, and that the tempter made use of these conceptions to [try to!] accomplish his infernal purposes." — *Bibliotheca Sacra*, for January, 1854, pp. 163, 164.

Upon the subject-matter of this paragraph, taken in connection with what had preceded, we observed, in our last number: —

"More remarkable still is the writer's attempt to honor the very letter in explaining the assertion, that from a high mountain Satan showed Jesus all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, in a moment of time. He thinks that Jesus actually ascended such a mountain, [i. e. "an exceeding high mountain,"] and 'had an instantaneous view of the leading kingdoms of the earth.' It is easy to understand this temptation as a mental operation. But if Dr. Stearns really knows of any mountain which admits of a prospect anything like what he describes, we have no doubt some of our panorama painters would be glad to avail themselves of it. We should deem a position on the moon rather more eligible than any position on this curved earth for such a view." — p. 304.

Having thus brought together the passage from the Essay, and that from our own criticism upon it, we must leave our readers to judge, as between us and our friendly correspondent, whether we have at all misrepresented him, and especially whether we have charged him as "seriously maintaining that there are mountains on earth from the top of which a man can *literally* see all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time."

Had more space been open to us on our first writing, we should have presented more fully on this point our view of the arbitrariness with which Dr. Stearns applies here the principle of interpreting metaphorical language.

The record affirms that *the Devil took* Jesus up into an exceeding high mountain. No, says Dr. Stearns, Jesus of his own accord *ascended* a mountain somewhere near Jerusalem. The record says that *the Devil showed* Jesus all the kingdoms of the world and all their glory. No, says Dr. Stearns, they were "the vivid conceptions of the Saviour's own highly excited

mind." Here certainly is freedom practised with the letter. But what to us is *remarkable* is the clinging to the letter in requiring that Jesus should be held to have left the wilderness, the scene of his temptation, and to have ascended a mountain. We cannot but think that Dr. Stearns lays stress upon what is really the least essential incident or feature of this portion of the narrative. Even when Jesus is on the mountain, the effect is to be wrought through his own mental conceptions. Why then did he need to be on a mountain? Could he not have had these mental conceptions in the wilderness? Does not Dr. Stearns imply that an actual ascent of the mountain would help the force of these conceptions, and would in some way accredit the literal terms of the account? This was the significance of our remark as to a mountain which admits of a prospect *anything like* what Dr. Stearns describes, i. e., of course, anything like an approach to a display of the glorious kingdoms of the earth. As there is not on the earth a mountain from which a single one of its kingdoms can be beheld, it does not help us to enter into the reality of the temptation, to suppose that Jesus had these vivid conceptions on a summit. The wilderness was equally favorable to them. His own voluntary ascent of a mountain does not fulfil the literal terms of the record in one respect; nor does Dr. Stearns's view of the result fulfil them in another respect. Why, then, such clinging to the letter at one moment, and such disregard of it at the next?

These were our reasons for regarding the writer's explanation of the third temptation as *remarkable*. At the same time, we thought it *more* remarkable than the explanation of the second temptation, because it is supposable, as it was possible, that Jesus might have climbed to a pinnacle of the temple, and have entertained the thought of throwing himself down; while the toilsome ascent of a mountain for the sake of putting himself in the way of a temptation only secured a mental vision, which nothing seen from the mountain could make more vivid than it might have been on a plain, or even when the eyes were closed.

G. E. E.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Christian Doctrine of Prayer. An Essay by JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. “*Φυγή μόνου πρὸς τὸν Μόνον.*” Boston: Published by Crosby, Nichols, & Co., for the Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association. 1854. 16mo. pp. 224.

THIS little book is exceedingly welcome for its own sake, and its appearance, under the auspices of the American Unitarian Association, is a cheering sign of our religious times. Mr. Clarke is well known to our circle of readers and hearers as a very clear thinker and a very earnest believer, as one who is more inclined to affirm than to deny, and who is able to give a reason for the faith which is in him. We trust that the Association will go on indefinitely in the direction indicated by such books as this on Prayer and the admirable work of Mr. Sears on Regeneration. So doing, they will be sure to help forward that great process of reconstruction which we try to regard as the peculiar work of our age in the departments of Christian thought and experience. This essay is devoted to the discussion of a subject which lies close to the very heart of religion. It deals with a very practical matter. Busy and self-styled practical men sometimes express the opinion, that thoughts about prayer are mere speculations which have no bearing whatever upon life; or, without going so far as this, they may be inclined to affirm, that, so long as we pray, it is of no consequence what we think about prayer. But it is of consequence. This calling upon God is the highest act of the human soul. It suggests to the mind some very perplexing questions, especially at a time when the understanding is receiving a culture out of proportion to the spiritual and moral nature. We are persuaded, with Mr. Clarke, that a multitude of persons, sincere Christians too, believers who attempt to shape their thoughts and regulate their religious affections by the wisdom of Jesus, have no faith whatever in prayer, properly so called, i. e. in asking; they do not believe that seeking in this way is of any avail, that the act of entreaty has any effect upon the result; indeed, they recognize no distinction, save in words, between meditation and prayer. According to such thinkers, — and they are very numerous, — the efficacy of prayer is upon us, not upon God. The form of petition only encourages the fancy that we are heard and answered. We rouse and strengthen the spirit within us; we call

down no power or love from above us. Now it is very plain that when men come to believe thus about prayer, confession, thanksgiving, and worship may continue, but *asking* must speedily cease. It must soon be regarded as a poor cheat upon ourselves, a making believe; we must soon reach the conclusion, that God cannot have made our spiritual growth dependent upon an act so meaningless. Moreover, the soul of man thirsteth not only for God, but for the *living* God. It is to no purpose that we gather from nature the signatures of the Divine hand, unless we can attain to faith in Divine providence, in Him who guides and sustains, as well as in Him who creates. "*Epicurus vero ex animis hominum extraxit radicibus religionem, cum diis immortalibus et opem et gratiam sustulit,*" — so says one of the interlocutors in the *De Natura Deorum*, and all experience confirms the statement. Still further, our religious faith avails little for our aid and comfort, unless it includes a belief in the reality of heavenly communion, — a communion of the finite with the Infinite, — personal on both sides, — not less real, but more real, than the communion of man with man. And when faith becomes thus definite and positive, we soon reach the persuasion that those who ask receive. It is essential to believe, not only in a God above us, but in a God near to us, — One who hears and answers prayer. Christ reveals such a God, a true Father; we see such a heavenly parent in Christ, and it is this which makes the Gospel divine to men who have neither the desire nor the ability to study the books of evidence for the genuineness of the New Testament Scriptures.

But we must not delay any longer to give a brief sketch of the course of thought in the essay before us; even though we should do this very imperfectly, we can hardly fail to bring forward enough to commend the work to a careful perusal.

The chief design of the author is to heal the breach existing from of old, but sadly widened of late, between reason and faith touching this subject of prayer. The first chapter is preliminary, setting forth the nourishment which the soul gains from prayer, and the various influences that are hostile to a hearty persuasion of its efficacy; — these are stated to be a tendency to recognize our obligation to God rather than our dependence upon him, a narrow devotion and hasty surrender of the mind to science, phrenology, ethics, and spiritualism, which see God as law rather than as love, as he binds himself rather than as he exercises his freedom; — and two theories, the one forbidding prayer for temporal things, and the other refusing to recognize any action in the matter which is not reaction. The same chapter further aims to show that Christ presents to us in his life and lessons a union of divine law and divine love. In the

second chapter we attend to the doctrine of prayer as Jesus and the Apostles seem to have taught it,—that we should pray more in secret than in public, and without meaningless and merely formal repetitions,—that we should believe and persevere and bring a Christian heart to the exercise, and continue in supplication whether we eat or drink or whatsoever we do. The petitions of Jesus come before us in this connection for our study, and are wisely and reverently treated. In this branch of his subject there is only one particular in which the author fails to carry us with him; we could not commend prayer for temporal blessings from the text, “Give us this day our daily bread.” That unique word, *ἐπιούσιον*, seems to us rather to mean *real, substantial*, and to direct our attention to spiritual nutriment. In the third chapter, the objections to the reasonableness of supplication made by the metaphysician, the man of science, the psychologist, and the transcendentalist, are considered, and the insufficiency of the view which regards prayer as a reaction, and of that which would limit it to spiritual blessings, is distinctly presented. The three remaining chapters are devoted to a careful survey of the preparations, the methods, the motives, and the results of prayer, brief, but comprehensive and catholic. It is not necessary to add, that these are high matters, and we should bring suspicion upon our discernment or sincerity were we to claim that our author has been entirely successful in his attempts to unfold them. We are satisfied, however, that he has brought together and presented in an attractive form the most important thoughts, speculative and practical, which must be weighed by every one who would think and feel justly upon this great subject. The Essay bears the marks of profound meditation, and will reward the careful study of the young theologian. It is written from a deep and genuine Christian experience, and will surely take its place amongst the books that help us to dispel our doubts, to rise into the still, pure air of heavenly communion, to find God very near through his Son for all the occasions of our mortal estate. We believe it was George Fox who said once to Oliver Cromwell, that the Church was in possession of the Scriptures, but had lost the spirit which wrote them. Was there not a vast deal of truth in the saying? Might it not be repeated very justly now? Are there not many whose God is afar, in the past, or in some remote islands of the blessed, not the Redeemer of whom Christ is the image? The presence and agency of the spirit are recognized only by the devout, by those who are habitually near to God, and this no man can be who does not with his mind and heart believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of all those that diligently seek him. God speed this little book upon its Christian errand, and

make it an effectual instrument, within and without our fold, in the great work of restoring belief in the Eye that seeth, the Ear that heareth, and the Voice that speaketh now as of old !

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1. *The Workingman's Way in the World, being the Autobiography of a Journeyman Printer.* New York: Redfield. 1854. 12mo. pp. 359.
 2. *Merrimack, or Life at the Loom, a Tale* by DAY KELLOGG LEE, Author of "Summerfield, or Life on a Farm," &c. New York: Redfield. 1854. 12mo. pp. 353.

THESE books belong to a class of writings which could not have seen the light in any age previous to this, and which may fairly be numbered amongst the distinctive products of the times, along with India-rubber cloth, Daguerreotypes, and friction-matches. The experiences of workingmen and workingwomen are in these days everywhere said or sung, and those who have mournfully come to the conclusion that we shall have no more epics must gather what comfort they can from this new form of literature, and try to be thankful that, although national armories are even more flourishing than heretofore, although sword-factories stand side by side with plough-factories, nevertheless the songs of the loom, the anvil, and the plough are taking the places of battle-songs, and the shirts which are sung of now are made, not of iron, but of cotton. We recommend every one whose temperament inclines him to look only on the dark side of life to read largely in this department of modern literature; even here he will find something that may feed his melancholy, for existence will never wholly part with its burden and its mystery; but with a little that is threatening in its aspect, there is a great deal more which is encouraging a healthy tone of practical Christian sentiment. Indeed, we are satisfied that few persons have any adequate conception of the amount of vitality, intellectual and emotional, which is realized in the more elevated portion of the laboring classes of modern society. We were inclined at first to the opinion, that the life at the loom described in "Merrimack" could not be the real thing at all; that sentiments and tastes are attributed by Mr. Lee to operatives, to which they very rarely rise. But upon reflection, we are satisfied that his delineations and reports are upon the whole just. One half of the world, it is said, do not know how the other half live; and the remark is quite as applicable to persons who live just round the corner, to the machinists, for example, who, as we write, are assembling for their dinner in the house

across the street, as to the remote sea-islanders. Undoubtedly we overrate the amount of intellectual culture amongst the wealthier portion of society, but we underrate just as much the gifts and attainments of the humbler classes. We shall learn by and by that it is a great error steadily to associate ignorance with the necessity of labor.

The volumes before us are interesting and profitable, each in its kind. Both of them are animated by a pure spirit, and are commended by a pleasant style. We hope that they will be extensively read by the classes whose fortunes they delineate, and by their employers also. The "Autobiography" proved to us the more attractive of the two, because it seemed to be not a fiction founded upon fact, but the true story of an actual human life. Personal narrative, when it is not disfigured by conceit, and when the narrator is gifted to tell his tale with feeling and good taste, hardly ever fails to be interesting, even though the story may include no remarkable adventures. The very quietness of the picture may be its chief charm. The workingman's story is a very pleasant one, and he has written it out in a very simple and clear workingman's style. It may be that we have been very ignorant and unobserving, but it is true that his book has opened for us a fresh view of life, and he commends himself all the more to the reader by the healthy moral sentiment and vigorous English common sense which shielded him so completely against infidelity and socialism, and taught him that the workingman's reliances are God and his own energies.

The United States Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin. A Personal Narrative. By ELISHA KENT KANE, M. D., U. S. N. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1854. 8vo. pp. 552.

THIS expedition, as is well known to all our readers, was a joint undertaking on the part of the United States government and of a public-spirited merchant of New York, — Mr. Henry Grinnell, of that city, furnishing the vessels, and the Navy Department providing the officers and men. It consisted of two small vessels, of an aggregate tonnage of only two hundred and thirty-five tons, and was manned by thirty-three persons, including the commanders, Lieutenant Edwin J. De Haven, and Acting Master Samuel P. Griffin. Dr. Kane accompanied the expedition in the capacity of surgeon of the larger vessel, the *Advance*; and in the volume before us we have a general history of its

operations, chiefly prepared from his private journal. The narrative is written with great spirit and vivacity, and will compare favorably with any previous history of Arctic adventure, both for the variety and intrinsic interest of its topics and the literary skill exhibited in their treatment. Several of the chapters are valuable contributions to science; such as that on the formation of icebergs and floes, and on the disintegrating processes which result in their destruction. Others have a more popular interest, and are full of exciting scenes.

The expedition sailed from New York on the 22d of May, 1850, and anchored at the Whale Fish Islands on the 24th of June. Here they remained several days to procure furs and complete the preparations for their perilous voyage. Starting again on the 29th, they prosecuted their search through the Middle Pack, as it is called, and amidst all the vicissitudes of Arctic navigation, until the middle of September, when they were frozen up in Wellington Channel, in about 75° of north latitude and 93° of west longitude. And here commenced a drift absolutely unparalleled in the history of navigation. The two vessels, now fast frozen in an immense ice-field, continued to drift in a northerly direction until the 2d of October, when they reached a point in latitude $75^{\circ} 24' 52''$ north, and longitude $93^{\circ} 31' 10''$ west. Here they met another current which bore them back again on their dim and perilous way, through Wellington Channel, Barrow's Strait, and Lancaster Sound, into Baffin's Bay, until the 7th of June in the following year, when the ice broke up, in $66^{\circ} 20' 18''$ north, and about 59° west, and they were finally released from their long imprisonment. Upon making sail again, they directed their course once more towards the Whale Fish Islands, and, after recruiting for a short time, again commenced their search. But the great extent and compactness of the ice which filled the bay compelled them to return after an ineffectual attempt to penetrate it; and early in the autumn our voyagers arrived in New York, after an absence of a little less than a year and a half.

In its main object, the expedition was unsuccessful; but this object had been faithfully prosecuted under more than ordinary difficulties. Some important results, however, were obtained, among which the first place must be given to the discovery of Grinnell Land, at the northern end of Wellington Channel. It is true that this discovery has been claimed for the English expedition, then in the Arctic Sea. But the very strong arguments so clearly presented by our author leave little or no doubt that this claim is unfounded, and that the honor must really attach to our countrymen.

In addition to his own personal narrative, Dr. Kane's volume

contains, in an Appendix, the letter of instructions addressed to Lieutenant De Haven by Secretary Preston, the official report to the Navy Department, several valuable meteorological and other tables, and an interesting and suggestive lecture by our author on an open Polar Sea. The volume is also handsomely illustrated with numerous engravings, which add much to its interest.

History of Oliver Cromwell and the English Commonwealth, from the Execution of Charles the First to the Death of Cromwell. By M. GUIZOT. Translated by ANDREW R. SCOBLE. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1854. 12mo. pp. 426, 511.

It is a fact not less remarkable than it is undoubted, that the best History of the English Revolution has been written by the great philosophical statesman of France. Across that period, so long sacred to partisan bigotry and misrepresentation, his History proceeds with an impartiality as rigid and unswerving as Mr. Hallam's, and with a fulness of detail, a justness of remark, and a breadth of philosophy, which leave little to be desired. In the volumes before us, he resumes his narrative at the point where it was interrupted many years since, when his powers were yet in the vigor of middle life, and carries it forward with the same impartiality, the same entire control of his subject, and under the guidance of the same enlightened principles which he then exhibited. The period of which they treat is scarcely less eventful, and is intimately allied with that which engaged his attention in his former work. Indeed, in M. Guizot's view, it forms only an integral portion of the same grand historical era, extending from the accession of Charles the First to the abdication of James the Second. There are doubtless strong reasons for thus regarding it, and giving to the whole course of events that dramatic unity which they thus acquire. Yet, with all our profound admiration of M. Guizot and of the other eminent scholars by whom this thesis is maintained, we have never been able to convince ourselves that it is, upon the whole, better thus to reconcile the distinctive characteristics of the Revolution of 1640 and the Revolution of 1688. Between these two great struggles we perceive radical distinctions which it seems unwise to wink out of sight.

Cromwell of course forms the central figure in M. Guizot's work, and around him nearly all the interest revolves. The delineation of him offers little that is novel; but it is remarkable for its discrimination of the conflicting elements in his complex

character, for its moderation, and for its careful avoidance of all extreme opinions. M. Guizot neither bestows on Cromwell the absurd praise, nor deals out the unjust censure, which are alike lavished upon him by partisan historians. The other prominent actors are also portrayed with great fairness and candor in balancing their opposing merits and defects. If any exception may be justly taken to the manner in which our author has executed this portion of his work, it is that the uniform coldness and austerity of his judgment have led him to regard with too little leniency those errors which it was inevitable for the English Revolutionists to commit, in the difficult position into which they were forced, and that he expresses himself in language too little animated by an active sympathy with either party. His style, so far as its characteristics may be ascertained through a translation, though marked by dignity and elegance, is never impassioned, and rarely becomes eloquent. In its entire freedom from passion and its disregard of rhetorical ornaments, it differs very widely from the style of almost every other modern French historian, and also, in a lesser degree, from the style of some of his own earlier works.

M. Guizot devotes considerable space to the diplomacy and foreign relations of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. His opinions on these points have much interest, as they are the views of a great theoretical statesman who has also enjoyed long practice in the diplomatic, legislative, and executive departments of his government; and he has illustrated his work by some valuable extracts from the *Archives des Affaires Étrangères* of France. His Appendices fill nearly two hundred and sixty pages, and contain a large number of interesting documents, of which a considerable part are now first printed. They throw new light on some doubtful points, and are a most welcome addition to the documentary history of the period. In his criticisms on the diplomacy of England at this time, M. Guizot seems to lay rather too much stress on the vacillating and undecided course which the Commonwealth adopted in its relations with France and Spain. Yet it may well be doubted whether it would have been wise for the Parliament to have more actively espoused the cause of either of those great powers. And as regards the war with the United Provinces, it is certain that England's maritime superiority dates from that period, and was in no small degree due to the wise policy begun by Vane and continued by Cromwell.

In a few other particulars, our author's views admit of some qualification; but in the main they are just and well considered, and but little objection can be raised to the accuracy of the picture which he presents of this portion of English history. His

fame as an historian will only be rendered the more secure by the high qualities which the work exhibits. The translation, it may be added, is executed with spirit, and apparent fidelity ; and the citations from English authorities have been verified by reference to the originals.

The Spirit of the Bible, or the Nature and Value of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, discriminated in an Analysis of their Several Books. By EDWARD HIGGINSON. London : E. T. Whitfield. 1853. 12mo. pp. 522.

HAD this excellent book come to our hands before we had written and printed the article on the Popular Use of the Bible which opens this number of our journal, we should certainly have availed ourselves of its help in the expression of some of the views there set forth. Mr. Higginson's work bears the appropriate motto, "The Letter killeth ; the Spirit maketh alive." As this volume is exclusively concerned with the Old Testament, we suppose the author intends to follow it with another devoted to the New Testament. He has undertaken a most serious and exacting task, in which any measure of success is deserving of respectful and grateful commendation. There are two very distinct standards by which even an accomplished Biblical scholar may put the contents of the Bible to the test of criticism : first, the standard supplied by his own intellectual and spiritual judgment, his taste, discernment, and philosophical theories, his sense of the probabilities and fitnesses of things, and his appreciation of the value of one or another sort of evidence ; second, the standard which accepts certain external, historical, traditionary arguments as to some extent substitutes for personal investigation, and as having assured to themselves by the allowance of others an authority which careful inquiry at this late day, and under many disadvantages, cannot fully authenticate. The rule of wisdom doubtless is to adopt both standards, or to interchange their application according as we are dealing with distinct issues in the which one or the other of them is a more appropriate test. But both of these standards are felt by us all to require great caution in their application, nor in fact can they always be distinguished ; for intelligence and culture, according to the degree in which they are possessed, will make the subjective standard more or less objective, and the objective standard more or less subjective, to different persons. We think that Mr. Higginson has fairly appreciated and has skilfully availed himself of both these standards of criticism in the book before us. In some very valuable preliminary pages, he presents, in a form suited to

persons of average intelligence, such suggestions as are most worthy of being heeded by one who seeks to discern the spirit of the Bible. Without a cumbrous array of learning, he states the essential conditions which require and enable us to discern between the form and incidental accompaniments through which the records of revelation have come to us, and the substantial facts of that revelation. While we might incline to differ with Mr. Higginson as to the soundness of some two or three of his leading principles, and should certainly dissent from him widely in the application which he makes of them in some particular cases, we cannot withhold the expression of very high praise to him for a work that we believe would relieve and instruct the minds of vast numbers who read the Bible under a painful sense of its perplexities.

He has brought together much valuable information relating to the constituent portions of the Old Testament; he writes in a cautious and most reverential spirit; he advances a positive belief in the inspiration of Moses, and in the reality of a revelation made by God through him; and his aim throughout is not to undermine or discredit, but to assure, to build up and reinvigorate the faith of those to whom the Bible is the most precious of all books. When we consider how easy it is to fail wholly in the carrying out of such a design as Mr. Higginson proposed to himself,—but one element in which was to discriminate between the divine and the human in the contents of one and the same volume,—we are impressed with a high sense of the value of his labors. He has shown great good judgment in not opening some questions which, though they most importunately invite debate, would have required his whole volume for their discussion. His remarks upon the substantially Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, upon the spirit of Judaism, upon the poetry of the nation, and upon the moral of Jewish history, show the action of a sound mind and of a clear discernment. If this volume should not be reprinted in this country, we would advise our readers to order copies of the English edition through our own publishers, Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, & Co.

Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. Printed by order of the Legislature. Edited by NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, M. D. Boston: From the Press of William White, Printer to the Commonwealth. 1853. 2 vols. 4to. pp. 479, 344.

In these two elegant volumes, legislative patronage and the unrequited zeal of a most devoted antiquarian have united to

secure from the perils of a conflagration records of inestimable value. In every point of view the contents of these volumes are of interest. They are of a unique character : the *curiosities* of literature embrace no documents in all respects like these. Some introductory remarks of the editor prefixed to the first volume describe to us the condition of the MS. records from which he has printed, and contain such explanations as enable a reader to peruse with pleasure these antiquated memorials of the fathers. Nothing that patient skill and the resources of art could contribute to the publication of these volumes in the most accurate and beautiful manner, has been lacking. The ingenuities of typography have been put to service to produce fac-simile copies of the antiquated abbreviations and characters used by the successive secretaries who wrote the records, and even a degree of virtue is allowed to exist in bad spelling when it is followed in imitation of men who did nothing else bad while they did so much that is good. To Dr. Shurtleff we are indebted for as exemplary a piece of editorial labor as has ever been performed within the range of our observation. The fruits of his honorable but trying toil will be of the most enduring character.

As to the intrinsic value of this publication, there cannot possibly be more than one opinion, at least among citizens of Massachusetts. Beginning with that curious charter, which was more curiously converted from its designed use by a mere trading company resident in Old England into a sort of Bill of Rights for an essentially independent state in New England, we read on through a series of entries in which the most trivial matters are entered with a grave solemnity becoming the great enterprise of which the least element was a condition of success. In one of the loose papers connected with the first transportation hitherwards, we read as follows : "To provide to send for Newe England ; Ministers ; Pattent vnder seale ; Men skylfull in making of pitch, of salt," &c., with a miscellaneous inventory, including *Coneys*, *Tame Turkeys*, *Shewes* (shoes), and *Copper Kettells*. We can imagine that the writer was a little embarrassed as to whether he should put first among the necessities for the voyage the ministers or the *Pattent*.

That the gravest reader will occasionally be conscious of being moved to smiles as he peruses these records of our progenitors during the first twenty years of their legislation, we will freely admit. But we doubt whether any person can read ten successive pages in them without being penetrated with a new sense of the heroism, the piety, and the noble qualities and patient virtues and far-reaching wisdom of the men whose first memorials on this soil are now brought before him in so attractive a shape.

Thesaurus of English Words, so classified and arranged as to facilitate the Expression of Ideas and assist in Literary Composition. By PETER MARK ROGET. *Revised and Edited, with a List of Foreign Words, defined in English, and other Additions.* By BARNAS SEARS, D.D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1854. 12mo. pp. 468.

CONSIDERING that this work attempts to carry out an original and a very complicated and embarrassing plan, the joint labors of the English author and the American editor must be regarded as having reached an eminently successful result. It partakes of the character of a dictionary of definitions, of a treatise on synonyms, and of an essay on the philosophy of language. It will help to enrich the vocabulary of a writer or speaker, will suggest to him some important and some very delicate distinctions in words, and will contribute to the accuracy and expressiveness of style in composition for all who keep the volume within their easy reach. Dr. Sears states in a brief Preface the nature and extent of the alterations and additions made by himself in the original work: these are such as add very much to its value. It would be difficult for us to present to our readers the plan of the work, unless we copied the statement of it at length from the volume itself, and even that is so brief and perhaps intricate, that only an examination of the contents will acquaint any one thoroughly with its purpose and method. We have noticed a few imperfections, — it would be strange indeed if the work were without them, — which makes us all the more sensible of the general thoroughness and correctness of the volume.

A very full index of English words refers the reader to preceding sections of the work, in which each word is classified with others of a cognate character in sense or use, while metaphorical significations are carefully noted. The general division of the body of the work is necessarily an arbitrary one, but any perplexity which it might cause to a reader who is searching for a particular word is remedied by the index, where the alphabetical order is observed. A second index contains an alphabetical list of foreign words and expressions which are in frequent use among us, with English definitions attached.

We have been surprised to find that under neither of the words *To Atone* and *Atonement*, the definition *to reconcile* and *reconciliation* is recognized either by the author or the editor. The omission is a very strange one, considering what an important issue is recognized as depending upon a Scripture word. The Reformer Tyndall, in his "Prologues to the Five Books of Moses," gives a table "expounding certain words," and here we find *reconcile* defined, "To make at one, and to bring in

grace or favor." A score of most decisive proofs might be quoted from English works written before and after our translation of the Bible, showing that the signification of *Atonement* is at-one-ment, or the being at one, the reconciling of two parties who had been estranged. The idea of *compensation*, *reparation*, *quittance*, or *expiation*, did not enter into the meaning of the word *atonement*, though these meanings are all given, and that of *reconciliation* is omitted, in the Thesaurus.

The Russian Shores of the Black Sea in the Autumn of 1852.

With a Voyage down the Volga, and a Tour through the Country of the Don Cossacks. By LAURENCE OLIPHANT. From the Third London Edition. New York: Redfield. 1854. 12mo. pp. 266.

THIS is an opportune publication, and will be read with interest because the regions to which it relates are turned to at the present time by millions of eyes and minds. The author writes in a pleasant, sketchy manner, and varies his narrative of personal experiences among strange scenes by introducing historical, political, and statistical statements on matters concerning which we are all asking questions. Two good maps and some vigorous wood-cuts add to the value and liveliness of the work. It gives us in small compass a great deal of reliable and useful information.

The Life and Labors of St. Augustine. Translated from the German of DR. PHILIP SCHAFF, by the Rev. T. C. PORTER. New York: J. C. Riker. 1854. 12mo. pp. 150.

It is probably impossible to decide at this day how much that is incorporated with the life-story of the Bishop of Hippo is reliable and literally true. The difficulty of deciding the question is not wholly relieved by the fact, that we derive the most of our information concerning him from his own writings, for the poetic and the marvellous are at times evidently confounded by him with the simple truth. Still his history and experience are profoundly interesting, if only for this, — that the sombre and disheartening views of many great religious problems were originated by him. This little monogram is prepared with great ability, and will be read by many who would shrink from the perusal of a more solid volume.

The Trials of a Mind in its Progress to Catholicism : a Letter to his Old Friends. By L. SILLIMAN IVES, LL.D., late Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina. Boston : Patrick Donahoe. 1854. 12mo. pp. 233.

IN reading this volume, we have tried hard, but, we must confess it, all in vain, to sympathize with the writer. We believe that his struggles have been sincere, and that he has candidly related their progress and result. Whether, however, he has a clear conception of their cause, or would be ready to debate a prior issue with equal candor, we must own that we doubt. Many of his former friends, pained by his course and by its present conclusion, might be moved to avail themselves of a temptation presented by one word in the title of his book, and say that by his own confession his progress had been to CATHOLICISM, as technically understood, but not to Gospel Christianity. But this suggestion, which would come legitimately from all others beside the fancy clique among High-Churchmen, is precluded those who were previously most in the confidence of Dr. Ives. For ourselves, we fail to discern any progress made by him, except a progress in error and in the needless work of confounding things that are really wide apart. The identity of portions of the theory on which High-Churchism relies with that which sustains the Papal Church, has been frequently and elaborately set forth ; but nowhere has it been made more obvious than in these very pages of Dr. Ives. He appears never to have exercised the rights, or to have been faithful to the responsibilities of a Protestant Christian.

He says that for years he had been tried by the solemn earnestness of the great question, How was he to secure salvation for his soul ? All his studies and duties as a bishop had not satisfied his mind on that point, which it would seem that either one of a hundred luminous sentences of the Bible might settle for every reader or hearer. So perfectly does his individuality of judgment appear to have been fettered by his High-Churchism, that he cannot conceive that the great question should be answered directly by the Scriptures, and that the Creator and Father needs no intermediate human agencies to make his method of salvation successful. Some corporate authority, some transmitted localized and well-authenticated mediations through an institution, instantly present themselves to his mind as essential to the success of any scheme which God can devise for salvation. When a sincere and anxious man adopts that astounding notion, it matters not how much farther he *progresses*, for he is on a wrong track. The recital of Dr. Ives's experiences, when under the guidance of such a delusion, is painfully disagreeable, and it

is utterly deficient in those qualities of solemn and penetrating earnestness which will so profoundly engage our sympathies when we read of the real struggles of a soul with facts and mysteries. Dr. Ives might have heaped together mountain masses of quotations like those which he offers to authenticate the claims of the Roman Church, but they have nothing more to do with the question which he proposed to himself than have the laws about landed property.

Indeed, as we have read his pages, we have had the suggestion arise in our mind, that Dr. Ives has treated the question as to his salvation precisely after the fashion in which a shrewd and cautious man would decide upon an investment in railroad stock, with an eye to the largest dividends, and a careful examination of his certificates. But even in this view of his method he does not go deep and far enough in his attempt to identify the method of salvation with some corporate agency intrusted to the Roman Church. A nervous purchaser of railroad stock, besides being anxious to know whether the signatures on his certificates were really those of the legal officers of the corporation, might be tempted to inquire whether these officers had been legally chosen. This latter question implies what is really the vital issue opened between us and the Roman Church. Is that Church legally in possession of authority to interpose itself between a single human soul and the offer of salvation made by God through Jesus Christ? It will be time enough to consider the terms which that Church exacts, when her right to deal with them in any way, or even to propose or announce them, has been established. It is hardly necessary for us to say, that Dr. Ives does not add a single argument or shadow of an argument to the wretched pleas which have been urged upon this point. He has all the means for learning the will of God concerning it which the Roman Church possesses, and the Pope himself, according to the New Testament, will be held to the same terms for salvation with Dr. Ives.

Russia as it is. By COUNT A. DE GUROWSKI. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 312.

THE author of this volume is known to us as an exile who has had the best opportunities for obtaining a thorough knowledge of all the matters concerning which he writes. The intensity of feeling which he throws into his language, and the evident smarts of painful personal experience which have sharpened some of its epithets, do not in the least dispose us to question the perfect trustworthiness of his statements. He is all the more credible a witness to the despotic policy of the Czar, and to the

hopelessly dreary effects of it in his empire, because his exposures are connected with the confession of a youthful imagination of his own, that a generous result might be attained through the established rule in Russia. At this time, when we shall be flooded with books upon the same theme, we are glad to have one thus early put within our reach which will save us from wasting our leisure moments upon a mass of volumes written to order for a supply of the market. We have here a concise, though a sufficiently full, exposition of the internal affairs of Russia; a sketch of the imperial policy to which Nicholas succeeded, and of the modifications which he has introduced into it; sketches of the constituent elements of society, and of the population, with an account of the army and the navy, the nobility, the clergy, the *bourgeoisie*, the Cossacks, the peasantry, and the serfs; a statement of the rights of aliens and strangers; and a forecast of the future. We have found in the volume precisely what we have been asking for, and we commend it to our readers.

An Autobiography. My Schools and Schoolmasters: or, The Story of my Education. By HUGH MILLER. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1854. 12mo. pp. 551.

In this most instructive and interesting volume Mr. Miller uses the words "schools" and "schoolmasters" in their largest sense, as embracing the agents and scenes of one's education. As a man of mark himself, gifted with endowments and talents which have owed more of their attainments to their original wealth and to their own good use than to the offices of the pedagogue, Mr. Miller has already in his previous volumes given us some portions of the story of his life, and has so engaged our curiosity as to win our attention to anything that he may write. The book before us is a Scotch production through and through; partaking of all the most characteristic elements of the country, of its people, its habits of life, its modes of thinking and feeling, and its peculiarities of belief. It is perfectly natural that Mr. Miller should be a Scotch Calvinist, and being one, and a geologist besides, it is equally natural that he should think that he might find in geology some intimations of the doctrine of the union of two natures in Christ. But in the matter of his religious impressions and opinions we apprehend that he was more of a pupil and of a recipient of the views of others, than in any other portion of his education. He is, however, a strong believer, and we are always interested in the statements which an intelligent person, not professionally attached to Calvinism as a

scholar or minister, may make of the effects of that system on himself. There are a great many episodical incidents and narratives in the volume, and some fine touches of experience under the common aspects of life, which we should have been glad to transfer from the book into our own pages had it appeared in season for such a use. The volume will be sure of a popular reception, and what we have read of it has satisfied us that it will reward a thorough perusal. It is well that Scotland should nourish some men of science and letters at the present day, who are able to stand as testimonies for religious faith under any form. There is a mystery resting upon the religious position of such a man as Lord Jeffrey, which intimates a rather distrustful view of the state of opinion on that subject among cultivated men in that land. The readers of the *Life and Correspondence of Francis Horner* are left to put their own construction upon the fact, that religion is not mentioned from the beginning to the end of those two volumes. While we were recently reading in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* a most laudatory notice of the life and character of Horner, and of these volumes, we could not but ask ourselves what explanation the writer gave to himself of that fact.

We observe, however, a disposition, on the part of some timid observers of the issue between science and the Old Testament, to exaggerate the real merits and success of Mr. Miller as a mediator between them.

The Life of Harman Blennerhassett. Comprising an Authentic Narrative of the Burr Expedition; and containing many additional Facts not heretofore published. By WILLIAM H. SAFFORD. Cincinnati. 1853. 12mo. pp. 239.

THIS brief contribution to biography and history will afford the authentic materials of one of the American romances which are yet to be written. Mr. Safford on his part has sought to hold closely to fact, finding enough in that to give interest of the most exciting character to his pages. We thank him for his labor here, and have no abatement to make on the score of any deficiency of fulness in his volume, though we confess that we should have been gratified with more details upon every incident which it involves. The eloquence of Wirt has made school-boys familiar with just enough of the story of Blennerhassett and Burr to make them desirous as they grow up to know more about it. Mr. Safford will satisfy them. With good taste, clear judgment, and a proper amount of research, he has presented the tale, which begins in romance and ends in tragedy. Many per-

sons who shall glide down the Ohio after having perused his book, will turn with a sad interest to the island whose once garden beauty has suffered the desolation that has passed over the happy family that first substituted the charms of civilization for its wilderness luxuriance, and enjoyed eight years of existence there before the destroyer came.

Junius Discovered. By FREDERICK GRIFFIN. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1854. 16mo. pp. 310.

WHETHER the name of a writer who took such pains for self-concealment as to be undiscovered by thousands who were on the search for him while he was penning his mysterious epistles, will ever be discovered and have his work proved upon him to the satisfaction of all, must now be held to be doubtful by those who are asking still, "Who was Junius?" Mr. Griffin has, we think, proved so much as this, — that our own Governor Pownall *may have been* Junius. After clearly laying down certain facts and characteristics which must be predicated of the unknown writer, and which must be assured for any historic personage for whom the unattributed fame is challenged, Mr. Griffin proceeds, by a very adroit and judicious chain of suggestions, to show how all these facts and characteristics are conformed to by Governor Pownall. He certainly makes out a very strong case, which he pleads with equal modesty and skill. Wholly aside from the main intent of the volume, it has a high value as containing many interesting particulars, and several original letters, of a man who has not received all the literary honors which he deserves. What Mr. Griffin would esteem a secondary merit of his volume shall stand with us as its primary, or at least as its sufficient recommendation.

Annual of Scientific Discovery: or, Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1854. Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Meteorology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, Antiquities, &c. Together with a List of Recent Scientific Publications; a Classified List of Patents; Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men; Notes on the Progress of Science during the Year 1853, etc. Edited by DAVID A. WELLS, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1854. 12mo. pp. 398.

THIS copious title-page must serve as a notice to our readers

of the book from which we copy it, and must also be the recommendation of the volume. When we say that the book contains all of which it thus gives the promise, we say enough in its behalf. The successive volumes of this annual have been most laboriously and faithfully prepared, and they will serve a noble use for immediate reference and for permanent history.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Recent German Literature. — The press, during the last quarter, has brought an unusually large addition to our theological literature, as well in the new works as in the new editions and continuations of former ones that it has produced, and these from writers of the most different parties.

From the strict "Church" theologians, as they style themselves, (corresponding in their extreme opinions to the school at Princeton,) is to be noticed the first volume of *Hengstenberg's* "Christology of the Old Testament, second edition, 1854," from which we may cite, as exhibiting the position of this modern Orthodoxy, the views on the history of the Fall, — the "Protevangelium," — which is treated as the first of the "Messianic Prophecies of the Pentateuch." The author opposes, indeed, the allegorical interpretation, that Satan took upon himself the form of a serpent; he denies that the curse, "Dust shalt thou eat," is to be taken literally, and he rejects the old view that the seed of the woman designates the Messiah. The serpent really tempted Eve, but as the instrument of Satan, whose fate is involved in its curse.

"To him who is at all acquainted with the sphere of the divine revelations, who has gained any view of the relation in which the books of Moses stand to the entire following development, it will seem at the outset inconceivable, that a doctrine, which later appears so important in the revelation, should not exist there, at least in germ. This is the more to be expected in advance, as we find already perfected in the Pentateuch the doctrine of the angel of the Lord, with which the doctrine of Satan is intimately united. Besides, the origin of the doctrine of Satan is lost, if it is set aside in the history of the Fall."

The author applies John viii. 44 to the temptation, rather than to the first murder, and believes, not only that the snake talked, but, instead of being an object of aversion, then walked erect. "It is from the first clearly probable, and agreeable to Satan's usual mode of acting, who loves to change himself into an angel of light, that he chose an interesting and attractive instrument for the temptation." This is against the view of Hofmann and Baumgarten, of the same school, who hold that the serpent was created before the Fall the same that it

was after; or, as Hofmann says, "that it only possessed as punishment after the Fall what it had by nature before the Fall," — which stands in open contradiction to the text. — *Ebrard*, in his "Revelation of John," which forms the seventh volume of Olshausen's Commentary on the New Testament, claims to have first separated the question of the fulfilment from the exegetical one of explanation. "This has preserved me, as I hope, from that 'tendency-exegesis,' which reads its own Church views into the Apocalypse; among others, also, from that monstrosity of Hengstenberg's, who fancies that we stand already at the end of the reign of the thousand years. The demonstration that I have given, that the Pope cannot be the Antichrist, will also, doubtless, scientifically weigh heavier in the scales than his." *Ebrard* has also just published a new edition of Olshausen's Commentary on "the three first Gospels as far as the history of the passion." Differing from his teacher, as he says, in the explanation of many single passages, and also in many parts of his fundamental view, he has placed his own opinions in brackets, given precision to Olshausen's expressions, and added many new notices. *Keil's* "Historic-critical Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament," may be judged of from its pretension to be the only work of its kind of late "from the stand-point of a criticism that believes in revelation," and from its admission that Ewald, Hitzig, Thenius, and Bersheau "have in manifold ways advanced the philological and critical branch of interpretation, without understanding the spirit of the divine revelation." *Guericke's* "Complete History of the New Testament, second edition, 1854," is from the same school, but of how different a spirit is manifest from the remarkable declaration of this strict Lutheran in his preface: —

"I have not been able, on many points, to pronounce now so decidedly and confidently. If, however, I have at present, and just at present, decidedly opposed the new Tübingen school, (whose researches, ten years ago, I could scarcely incidentally refer to,) as far as could here be done within fixed limits, and without permitting the entire form of the book to be colored by such opposition, this does not stand in contradiction with my often uttered conviction of the so uncommon endowments, ability, and skill of its founder and representative. Yes, I even hesitate not to apply to myself, as opposed to Dr. Von Baur, the adage, that when kings build, truckmen have enough to do."

Here may also be mentioned, *Hofmann*, "Scripture Proof," — part first of the second half; *Lange*, "History of the Church of the Apostolic Age," two parts; *Kurtz*, "History of the Old Testament," Vol. I., second ed.; "Handbook of Church History," Vol. I., second part, third ed.

From the Tübingen school we have a reprint of *Zeller's* articles on the "Theological System of Zwingli," — an able dissertation that fills a gap. On the great question of the day, Dr. *Baur's* "Christianity and the Christian Church of the First Three Centuries" gives the "results which have been brought to light by the latest critical researches in the field of the earliest history of the Church." It is needless to say that all the points at issue between the old school and the new, are here discussed. The author says: "My stand-point is in one word the purely historical, on which, therefore, the only thing to do is to represent what is historically given, as far as it is possible, in its

pure objectivity." The history is brought down to a period considerably later than the so-called "post-apostolic age," and the author intimates that, in future works, he may trace further the course of development of the Christian Church. *Köstlin*, in his "Origin and Composition of the Synoptical Gospels," is inclined, with *Ewald*, to place these at the end of the first century, rather than with *Baur* at the beginning of the second. On the vexed question as to the "Memoirs of the Apostles" used by *Justin Martyr*, which for the last seventy years has been discussed on both sides with such warmth, — and justly, as its decision is most important for determining the origin of our Gospels, — has appeared a Programme from *Volckmar*, "On Justin Martyr and his Relation to our Gospels." The author comes to the result that Justin used a peculiar Gospel, similar to that cited in the Clementines, but he does not hold that it was older than our synoptical Gospels, and he places it between Matthew and John. *Hilgenfeld*, "The Apostolical Fathers, an Inquiry into the Contents and Origin of the Writings that bear their Name," is a well-known laborer in this field. To these may be added *Noack's* "Biblical Theology," containing a popular summary of the negative results, as well as his "Christianity and Humanism," "The Christian Mystic," and "The Free Thinkers in Religion, Part I. The English Deists," which, following one another in such rapid succession, forbid one to expect much that is original or penetrating in their character.

Between these two schools stand the so-called "modern," or "believing" theologians, of whom two classes may be distinguished. From those more inclined to a stricter theology, we have from *Dörner*, "History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ," the second part, first division, "from the end of the fourth century to the period of the Reformation," with the promise that the concluding portion will soon be given. That *Dörner* does not belong to the old school is manifest from his assertion, "that the old Lutheran Christology is not yet perfect, and needs further improvement, no one capable of judging denies." *Ullmann's* "Sinlessness of Jesus" — so long known to us in a translation — now appears in a sixth, newly elaborated edition. So much has been entirely rewritten, that the book appears in form and substance quite altered. But perhaps the greatest difference from all the preceding editions is the view the author advances, page 164, and further advocates in the Appendix, that the Devil appeared and tempted Jesus in bodily outward form. The author expresses with much feeling the doubt whether, in the present position of the Church and of science, his work will find the welcome it has hitherto received. "The strife of creeds without and within, that which was really necessary and that which has been forcibly excited, has drawn away the interest to another side. Many of my contemporaries, too, even among the younger, are so shut up in the formulas of a ready-made system, be it a system of belief or unbelief, that they reject at once a foundation of faith."* The fifth edition of *Harless's* "Christian Ethics," is but a reprint of the fourth. *C. F. Schmid's* "Biblical Theology of the

* The Professor has recently retired from the University at Heidelberg, and is now Prelate in Carlsruhe; he will be succeeded next semestre by Prof. Rothe, of Bonn, whose successor, it is reported, will be Prof. J. P. Lange, of Zurich.

New Testament," published after his death, contains the lectures he formerly read in Tübingen. The first volume treats of the life and doctrine of Jesus, the second, of his Apostles.

From the other branch of the middle school, we have *Hase's* "Life of Jesus," in a fourth and improved edition, 1854. "The additions to the new edition have mainly arisen in opposition as well to those who, in the enthusiasm of emancipation from the letter which had been regarded as divine, according to their ability deny to the New Testament even the historical facts, as also to those who, in their reverence for the Scriptures, often contrive only cunning subterfuges in order to protect the letter." From *Meyer* has appeared the third edition of his Commentary on Matthew, in which he says: "Continued occupation with the subject has led me to the decided conviction, that the participation of the Apostle Matthew in our first Gospel must be limited to that which in the fragment of Papias (in the interpretation of which the strict verbal sense is not to be departed from) is expressly attested as the work of the Apostle." In the second new edition of his Commentary on Romans, 1854, the author says: "The tendency-exegesis of the creed, which is again making itself more and more current, is closely connected with the Church revival of the times." He lays down the principle, "*Scriptura Scriptura interpret*," and while protesting against presupposing in advance the Church-doctrine and Bible-doctrine to be identical, thinks that the doctrine of his Church agrees essentially with the system of Paul. From *Umbreit* we have a dissertation entitled "Sin," — a contribution to the theology of the Old Testament. Especially must we call attention to "The Sources of Genesis, and the Mode of their Combination, newly investigated by Dr. *Hupfeld*, Professor in Halle." The author has here sought to restore the original text of Genesis, by pointing out the genuine portions of the same that had been heretofore overlooked, and removing others that had been falsely ascribed to it. He then considers the Jhvistic portions, (the word Jehovah, which undoubtedly was originally pronounced Jahveh, or Jahaveh, the author writes with the simple Hebrew consonants, Jhvh, thus making this unutterable name actually unpronounceable,) and next, those of the later Elohist, and concludes with a criticism on the procedure of the compiler of the work. The author does not pretend to have finished the inquiry, but claims to have brought it upon a more correct path, and given it a surer basis. The book closes with an earnest warning to the reactionists, "who either reject at the outset all criticism of the Old Testament as soon as it conflicts with the Church tradition and their own presuppositions, as the product of infidelity and recklessness, or, for appearance only, but in fact guided by the very opposite principles, who practise the same only to destroy it." We cannot suppose that, on a subject which leaves so much room for subjective judgment, the results of the Professor will be universally received; but we rejoice that the investigation has been opened anew, and we welcome this contribution towards the attainment of the truth. From *Alex. Schweizer*, one of the chief writers on dogmatics of the present day, has appeared, "The Protestant Central Doctrines in their Development within the Reformed Church, — first half, the Sixteenth Century, 1854." This important and most thorough treatise, more historical than apologetic, exhibits the formation of these doctrines under the Reformers, and in their controversy with Catholics, Socinians,

and Lutheran receders. *Wahl's* "Philological Lexicon to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament" is highly commended; it is the first that has been made to the Apocrypha.

In addition to the works above given are to be named *H. Schmid's* Dogmatik, third edition, valuable as giving the sources of the doctrines of the Lutheran Church; *Meier*, "Manual of the History of Doctrines, second edition, revised by Prof. G. Baur, of Giessen, 1854"; *Heppe*, "History of German Protestantism, Vol. II. from 1563-74"; also, "Confessional Development of the old Protestant Church of Germany, and the Present Condition and Work of German Protestantism." From *Dr. T. Tobler*, a physician, whose wonderful learning has been shown in the four volumes he has already published upon Palestine, in which all writers from the earliest to the latest times appear to have been consulted, we have, "Topography of Jerusalem and its Neighborhood, — Vol. I. The Holy City." Of the "Bibliotheca Patrum Græcorum Dogmatica" have appeared Vol. I. prepared by the late Prof. *Thilo*, containing, in Greek and Latin, the select dogmatic writings of *Athanasius*, and Vol. II. edited by *Dr. Goldhorn*, those of *Basilius* and *Gregory of Nazianzen*, together with the Apology of *Eunomius* and the Synodal Letter of *Amphilochius*. *Böhringer* has just published the second part of his second volume of "The Church of Christ and its Witnesses, or Church History in Biographies." Five volumes had been already issued; the present (1854) contains the lives of *Abelard*, *Heloise*, *Innocent III.*, *Franciscus of Assisi*, and *Elisabeth of Thuringen*. From *Döllinger*, a learned Catholic, we have "Hippolytus and Callistus, or the Roman Church in the First Half of the Third Century, with Reference to the Writings and Treatises of *Bunsen*, *Wordsworth*, *Baur*, and *Gieseler*." It is well known that the work *Philosophoumena*, which had been attributed to *Origen*, and by *Bunsen* ascribed to *Hippolytus*, which *Gieseler* holds to have been written after the year 157, is assigned by *Dr. Baur* to the Presbyter *Caius*. *Döllinger* agrees that *Hippolytus* was the author, and as the ninth book places the Roman Bishop *Callistus* in a rather unfavorable light, he endeavors to defend him in his inclination to Sabellianism. *Bunsen* seems to have offended the Orthodox Protestants as well as Catholics, *Hengstenberg* having raised against him the stale cry of pantheism, and *Döllinger*, who shows a profound acquaintance with the subject, pronouncing his book scientifically useless. A brief criticism of it in the "Literary Central-Blatt, No. 3," blames *Bunsen* for being so little historical and so polemical, thinks that the title does not correspond to the contents of the book, censures his attempting to defend the genuineness of the Syrian text of *Ignatius's* letters against almost universal contradiction, while it praises his vindication of spiritual freedom, his true evangelic tone, his proofs of thorough study, and considers as most valuable his remarks on the liturgies of the ancient Church. With an Introduction from *D'Aubigné* has appeared a "History of the Evangelical Church in Hungary from the Beginning of the Reformation to 1850, with Reference also to the *Siebenburger*, 1854." The printed and written documents which were put into *D'Aubigné's* hands he was obliged to transfer to another, who he says is a man "of true piety and sound judgment, full of Christian rectitude, honesty, and wisdom, in whom full confidence can be placed." The book abounds in references to authorities, and communicates many facts of interest heretofore unknown.

No Protestant Church has suffered more oppression than the Hungarian. Sismondi said that, if the persecutions of the Protestants in Hungary were known, they would be found to exceed those of the Huguenots under Louis XIV.; and the present work opens this new chapter in the history of martyrdom. To those interested in the subject is to be commended for its thoroughness, "George Calixtus and his Times," Vol. 1. by Prof. Henke, of Marburg, — a work of twenty years of labor. Of about equal size is the first part of *Hosbach's* "Spener and his Times," second edition. The first volume of the "Real Encyclopædia for Protestant Theology and Church," edited by Prof. *Herzog*, is just completed. The work will probably embrace ten volumes of about eight hundred pages each, and will be finished in four or five years. Opposed to Catholicism on the one hand, and to a negative theology on the other, its contributors belong to the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and United Churches, and the names of Kurtz, Guericke, Müller, Tholuck, Hagenbach, Rothe, Wieseler, Schweizer, Umbreit, and Gfrörer show at once the ability and dissimilarity of its supporters. The articles on Alfred the Great from Leo, Professor of History, and on Ancient Egypt from Prof. Lepsius, demonstrate that not theologians alone are interested in the undertaking. The "Encyclopædia of Catholic Theology," edited by Professors *Wetzel* and *Wette*, which was commenced in the year 1846, has already filled ten volumes of nine hundred pages each, and the 123d Heft has not yet finished the letter T. Among other Catholic works, we may mention the third edition of *Dieringer's*, and the fourth volume of *Berlage's* Catholic Dogmatik; a second edition of *Maldonati's* Commentary on the Evangelists, — Vol. I., containing Matthew and Mark, from Prof. Martin; and the second volume of "The Roman Popes, or History of the Principal Persons, who, from the Holy Peter down to the present gloriously-reigning Two-hundred-and-fifty-ninth Successor of the same, have presided over the Catholic Church," — by Prof. *Abbé Müller*.

Other books, of which we have seen only the titles, are *Einhorn's* "The Principle of Mosaism and its Relation to Heathenism and Judaism." "The Ethiopic Books of the Old Testament," from Prof. *Dillmann*, in five volumes; the first number containing Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus. From the same author, "The Book Enoch translated and explained." From *Reusch*, "Explanation of the Book Baruch." *Wieniger*, "The Three First Centuries of the Christians, Part First." *Damberger*, "Synchronistic History of the Church and World in the Middle Ages, Volume Fifth." *Daniel*, "Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Universæ in Epitomen Redactus," Part First of Volume Fourth, containing the Liturgy of the Oriental Church. The celebrated Gnostic work, "Pistis Sophia," ascribed to Valentinus, from the Coptic manuscript at London, has been translated into Latin by M. G. Schwartz, and edited by Professor *Petermann* of Berlin. *Emanuel Swedenborg's* "Adversaria in Libros Veteris Testamenti," now first edited from his manuscript in the library of the Royal Holmiensian Academy, by Prof. Tafel; Volume Fifth of the First Part contains explanations of Exodus xvi. 29 to xxviii. 43. From *Jacoby* in Bremen, "Handbook of Methodism, with a Likeness of Wesley; treating of the History, Doctrines, Church Government, and Peculiar Usages of the Sect."

If we turn to the chief articles in the Reviews, we find in the *Stu-*

dien und Kritiken a long letter from Dr. *Hagenbach* in Basil to Professor *Schenkel* in Heidelberg on the Principle of Protestantism; on the Situation of *Kades* and the History of Israel in the Wilderness connected therewith, from *W. Fries*; on the Trespass-Offering, from *Riehm*; on the Clearing up the History of the Jews after the Exile according to *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, by *Vaihingen*; *Schoberlein's* review of *Nagelbach's* Essays, "What is Christian?" and the first half of a long article on Home Missions in their Relation to the Scientific and Church Tendencies of the Day, from *Merz*. The *Journal for Lutheran Theology and Church*, edited by *Kudelbach* and *Guericke*, contains, from the first editor, the Signification of Ordination in Relation to the Parochial System; from *Gundert*, the Objective Hypotheses to the First Letter of *Clemens Romanus* to the *Corinthians*; on Natural Philosophy, from *Rocholl*; from *Strobel*, Unionistic Chances to ride to Rome recommended not to be used; from *Dieckmann*, on the Struggling Church; and from *Bötticher*, an attempt to restore the Canon of *Muratorius*. Among the criticisms that follow is a long and complimentary notice of Dr. *Baur's* "Epochs in the History of Church History," in which the Lutheran editor *Rudelbach*, as his colleague *Guericke* above, testifies repeatedly his respect for the learned author, and closes by expressing again his "deep veneration towards this great theological teacher." In *Niedner's Journal for Historic Theology* are, from Professor *Wiggers*, extended remarks on the fate of *Augustine's* anthropology, from the condemnation of semi-Pelagianism at the synod of *Orange* and *Valence* in 529, till the reaction of the monk *Gottschalk* in favor of *Augustinianism*; from Professor *Engelhardt*, the *Rathmann* Controversy; from *Sack*, a Latin Programme on Church Discipline; and from Professor *Heppe*, on the Transplanting of the Theological Doctorate from *Tübingen* to *Marburg* in 1564. The first number of *Baur and Zeller's* "Theological Year-Book for 1854" contains the first part of a long article on the Gnostic System of the Book *Pistis Sophia*, from Professor *Koslin*; from *Volckmar* on the *Philosophoumena* and *Marcion*; and from *Hützig*, Explanations of *James* iv. 5, 6, 1 *Corinthians* ii. 10, *Ephesians* v. 14. A note from the editor gives the following explanation of *John* xxi. 11, from Dr. *Egli*: "A hundred and fifty and three great fishes were drawn to land, — a very precise statement; yet we can hardly suppose that any one counted the fishes." The following table is then given, — *Rev.* xiii. 18 being referred to as an analogy, — from which it appears that the number 153 exactly corresponds to the numerical value of the letters of *Simon Peter's* name.

ש	=	21	י	=	10
מ	=	13	ן	=	6
ע	=	70	נ	=	14
י	=	14	ה	=	5
שמעון = 118			יונה = 35		

יונה שמעון (for שמעון, as קסד, *Rev.* xiii. 18), or

Σίμων Ἰωνα = 118 + 35 = 153. *Ewald's Year-Book of Biblical Science* contains a translation by Professor *Dillmann* of the "Christian Book Adam of the East," from the Ethiopic manuscript of the library at *Tübingen*, and an article from the same on the extent of the Biblical

canon of the Abyssinian Church; from Dr. *Haug*, explanation of Persian words of the Old Testament; from the editor, additional explanations to the Psalms, and, as a continuation of his former articles on the origin and nature of the Gospels, one on the external testimonies for the Gospel of John. His result is (p. 206): "So from all sides we are led to the conclusion, that this Gospel was written in the apostolic age, and can have been composed by no other one than John." Then follows a criticism, or rather general denunciation, of all the books on Biblical science of the past year, that must indeed present a riddle to one who does not understand the author's character, history, and personal relations, from which, as characteristic, we select the following: "The new edition of the very elaborate work of Lücke, 'Introduction to the Apocalypse' is now finished; and certainly it is very salutary that the Apocalypse of Hengstenberg is refuted in so decided and peculiar a manner as is here done. Yet on page 755 is a passage where my Tübingen colleague Baur is praised for 'opposing with righteous indignation such "modern" persons who hold themselves as the incarnate truth and science, and who denounce before the literary public every contradiction of their opinions as an offence against truth that deserves to be punished.' What does Dr. Lücke mean by this? Plainness alone seems desirable, when one speaks publicly on a subject; and if Lücke with justice asserted that of Dr. Baur, I should be well enough pleased. But as yet, I can find neither a true nor a clear meaning in his words." We are surprised that the learned, but not over-modest Professor could reprint, and still more that he is the only one who does not understand, this by no means obscure not unmerited allusion to himself. A discourse on "Religion and Rule in Germany" concludes the number. The *Journal for Protestantism and Church*, by Thomasius and Hofmann, has an article on Roman (Catholic) Logic, and a long concluding one on the leading ideas of Christian Church Architecture. The *German Journal for Christian Science and Christian Life* contains a reply from Nitzsch to Dr. Kahn's former attacks on the Evangelical Union and its theological representatives, and the last number has an answer from Müller to Dr. Kahn's latest book, on the modern doctrine of the Union, in which he had charged the Union theology with fundamental errors on the doctrines of the Trinity, the Person of Christ, and Justification, as well as on the Lord's Supper. The other articles are, from Planck, the Biblical doctrine of the creation of the world, and from Petermann, the Christians in Jerusalem. The *Universal Repertory for Theological Literature and Church Statistics* has, in the December number, a long article on the present condition of Protestantism in France. The *Catholic Theological Quarterly* has a long article on the origin and just position of the Vicar-General, and one on Old Testament studies. The *Evangelical Church Gazette of Hengstenberg* contained in one of the January numbers a severe denunciation of Free-Masonry, alleging, first, that its basis was Deism and antipathy to what is specifically Christian; secondly, among other invectives, stigmatizing the order as "a monster nearly allied to hell-fire, a Goliath whom David's sling must destroy"; thirdly, calling upon the clergy to withhold their sympathy from it, and upon the synods to discuss the matter in their conferences. In reply, the officers of the three Grand Lodges, together with their Protector, His Royal Highness the Prince of Prussia, declare as to the first charge: "The order is under legal protection in the

state. These insinuations are dangerous to the public peace, as they excite the members of the state to hatred and contempt of one another; and though we could successfully appeal to the law, we prefer to show the spirit of mildness and reconciliation (Matt. v. 43-48). The first charge is untrue. We receive only Christians, we respect the Church, and our statutes are Christian. We believe in Christ and his Gospel, and his word is the basis of our conduct in civil life and as free-masons. The invectives under the second head deserve no notice. The third procedure is unjustifiable and blameworthy, as it can do a minister no harm to belong to a society of cultivated men, specifically Christian-minded, and united for noble ends. The order has lasted more than a hundred years, and as it has been approved by an unbroken series of wise and pious kings, yes, in part honored by their most gracious entrance to it, it may claim general respect, and should be secured against attacks of such a character."

From the remarks of Ebrard, Ullmann, Hase, Meyer, and Hapsfeld, above quoted, it might be inferred that a narrow, dogmatical, and uncritical spirit is gaining ground in Germany, that has led even orthodox men themselves to protest against it. That this is no mere supposition, but is fully confirmed by facts, the late attacks of the "Old Lutherans" upon the Union, and the recent suppression by force of all the so-called free churches, abundantly manifest. To show how far this spirit is inclined to go, we copy the two following statements, that have appeared in several German papers, not only without comment, but without attracting any particular attention. "*Nordhausen, 3 Jan.* With the new year the religious school of the free church here, which was established in 1847, has been closed by the police, inasmuch as the preacher of the society, Mr. Baltzar, has been forbidden, under penalty of fine or imprisonment, to impart religious instruction to children. It is likewise said that he shall no longer attend to the religious instruction of *his own* children, three in number, who go to school, as he is not qualified to do so, because his religious principles are not in unison with those of the state laws." "*Weimar, 20 Jan.* Considerable efforts are now making by the Orthodox party in our land for carrying out their own church views. Of this nature is a representation lately presented to the government of the state, in which it is requested that care be taken that all clergymen be henceforth literally bound by the symbolical books, that at the University of Jena only theologians of true Orthodox tendency be appointed, and that also the offices of the two directors of the Seminary be filled exclusively with ministers of such sentiments." To oppose more effectually this increasing tendency, on the first of January of the present year a new paper was established, — the *Protestant Church Gazette for Evangelical Germany*, weekly, published by Reimer, in Berlin, at the rate of three thalers (\$2.25) per annum. Among the large body of Professors and Pastors, who appear either as editors or contributors, are the well-known names of Professors Gieseler and Reiche of Göttingen, Hitzig and Schweizer of Zürich, Credner, Knobel, and G. Baur of Giessen, Hase, Rückert, and Hilgenfeld of Jena, Schwarz and Francke of Halle, Kist and Von Hengel of Leyden, Geffken of Hamburg, Weisse of Leipzig, and many others, from the most different sections in and out of Germany. The paper is adapted, not merely for theologians, but for all intelligent Christians; and if a weekly may be com-

pared to a quarterly journal, its position may be likened to that of the Westminster Review. It will aim to bring together the clergy and the laity, and to reconcile theology and science, the Church and modern culture. Its prospectus announces, that, "According to its programme, it will on the one side defend positive historical Christianity against all who deny and endeavor to destroy Religion and the Church, and on the other, the free principles of Protestantism against the growing pretensions of Confessionalism and Ultramontaniam. Especially will it not be weary in combating the modern Confessionalism, which would lace up the noble Protestant Church in the strait-jacket of antiquated doctrinal formulas and ecclesiastical regulations, and, if it could, would stifle the free movement of the Protestant spirit, as well as the un-German and unevangelical Romanism, which in these days again opens a march of conquest in our good German fatherland, and has not only already mastered the Roman Catholic Church, but is on the point also of subjecting to itself Protestant hearts, institutions, and powers. All religious, church, and scientific freedom, which is born from the essence of religion, church, and science, shall ever find in it an advocate. And hence it will willingly admit into its columns, not only different opinions upon single topics, but also the different church and theological tendencies which the manifold relations of the German Evangelical Church naturally bring with them, as far as they keep within the principles laid down." The principles of this paper, and the ability with which it is conducted, are more clearly manifest in its leading article, which may be found translated in the March number of the Monthly Religious Magazine.

The limited number of works that have appeared in Philosophy plainly indicates, what other facts demonstrate, the decline of interest in this study. The *Journal for Philosophy and Philosophical Criticism*, from Fichte, Ulrici, and Wirth, Vol. XXIII. No. 2, contains from Professor Erdmann, "The Power of Naturalism and its Refutation," which also has been separately printed; John Gottlieb Fichte's "Ideas on God and Immortality," communicated by the editor, his son, from a recently discovered pamphlet printed at Baireuth, 1799, "by a truth-loving schoolmaster." These are supposed to be the discourses alluded to in Fichte's Complete Works, Bd. V. p. 177, "On the Ground of our Faith in a Divine Government of the World," and are to be regarded as a supplement to this volume. From Mehring, "Christological Sentiments in Aristotle." From Ulrici, a long article on "The Relation of Religion and Philosophy to Hegel, Schleiermacher, Herbart, and their Successors." From Boehmer, Correspondence on "the Genevan Academy for Italian Philosophy." Two reviews follow, of Ritter's *Essay on the new German Philosophy since Kant*, and on Hartenstein's new edition of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. Of works in philosophy, we can only mention Erdmann's second part of the third volume of his "History of Modern Philosophy"; Ritter's eighth volume of the "Christian Philosophy," being the twelfth of his "History of Philosophy"; Fricker, "The Philosophy of Fr. H. Jacobi, 1854"; Kuno Fischer, "History of Modern Philosophy,"—Vol. I. containing the classical period of the dogmatic philosophy.

In Philology, we observe from *Imm. Bekker*, Diodori Siculi Bibliotheca Historica, Vols. I. and II. Professor Hermann's "Manual of Greek Antiquities from the Standpoint of History," fourth, newly-revised

edition, Vol. I., first half. The first of three volumes on the History of Rome by *Petri*, and Professor A. *Schwegler's* Roman History, Vol. I. Part II., "Under the Kings." *Rost's* edition of Passow's Greek Lexicon, the fifth edition of the original work, has reached the third number of the second part of the second volume, to *συμπεραναιω*.

To be recommended to theologians are Dr. A. *Wuttke's* "History of Heathendom," Part Second, treating of the spiritual life of the Chinese, Japanese, and Indians, and *Duncker's* "History of Antiquity," Volume II., relating to the Indians, Bactrians, Medes, and Persians. Of a more miscellaneous character are *Teuss*, "Grammatica Celtica," two volumes, in Latin; *Mehren*, "Rhetoric of the Arabians"; *Rückert*, Professor in Breslau, "History of the Culture of the German People in the Period of Transition from Heathenism to Christianity, Part I." The fourth improved edition of *Gervinus*, "History of German Poetry," five volumes, Bd. I. The German Dictionary of the brothers *Grimm* has reached the seventh number, to the word *Bestrafen*; it is to be feared that, owing to the age and ill health of the authors, this valuable work will never be fully completed. *Jacob Grimm's* "History of the German Language," two volumes, has just appeared in a second edition. The tenth edition of *Brockhaus's* "Conversations-Lexicon" has reached the eighty-first number, in the letter N. In addition, we may mention the third edition of *Henry Wheaton's* "History of the Progress of the Law of Nations in Europe and America since the Peace of Westphalia," — two volumes, in French. *Fredrika Bremer*, "The Home in the New World, a Diary in Letters written during two Years' Travels in North America and Cuba, — from the Swedish, — Part First." A translation by Professor *Perty* of "Agassiz and Gould's Elements of Zoölogy, 1854." Pastor's *Belke's* translation of "Longfellow's Evangeline, with a Sketch of the Life of the Poet, and an Historical Introduction, accompanied with a steel engraving of the author and ten illustrations, 1854." Of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (a thousand copies of which were sold in the English edition by one bookseller alone in Berlin) appears a fourth edition, 1854, with fifty illustrations, and also another, with the title, "Stowe Henriete, Stric Tomáz ali življenje zamorcov v Ameriki. Svobodno za Slovence izdelal J. B. S. 6 podotami. Klagenfurt, Leon." The second number of the *Grenzboten*, in a review of Henning's Handbook of North American Literature, will not admit the existence of a truly national literature in our country. Irving belongs to the school of English writers; Cooper, who sought to handle national subjects, has had no successor; the poets have not sprung from the national life of the people, but Byron, Shelley, and Goethe are heard in them. Evangeline is regarded as the best product of American poetry, and Longfellow is placed above Bryant; Poe's Raven is pronounced ridiculous. The *Ausland* objects to the indefiniteness of the President's Message on our relations with foreign powers. "The substance of it," it says, "is, 'Only wait, — in fifty years we have a hundred millions of men, and then all these controversies will settle themselves by our superior power.' The expectations are very proud, and at present no great hinderance seems to contradict; but 'care is taken that the trees don't grow up into the sky.'" It asks attention to what it calls a remarkable circumstance, that "while in the last twenty years the English House of Lords has gradually become weaker, and, in a wise knowledge of its weakness, has very rarely opposed the votes of the lower

house, in America the Senate has become stronger and more decided in its manifestations. The reason of this opposite relation lies, it is easy to see, in the controversies between the great parties of the country, the oft-discussed 'sectional differences,' which, as they cannot be settled by majority decisions in the House, must be settled by compromise in the Senate." According to the report of the New York Courier and Inquirer, which has been copied by the London Times, John Mitchell, at the complimentary dinner given him in New York, referring to the European exiles for liberty, thus discoursed: "Somewhere in Ohio wanders and feeds his hogs the German Uhlant. O heavens! Apollo is once more among the herdsmen of Admetus, and the herdsmen know not that he is the sun-god." We are sorry to be obliged to destroy this high-flown classical allusion, but the admirers of the great poet will be interested to learn that he is yet in Stuttgart, and has recently not only declined the order for science and art presented by King Maximilian of Bavaria, but, having been offered a similar one from the Prussian government in the place of the poet Tieck, he returned the independent and patriotic answer, in a letter to Baron Humboldt, that "it would be little becoming for him to rejoice in this distinction from a government which had persecuted with trials for high-treason, and deprived of their civil offices, many who were of the same opinions with himself, and with whom he stood in the political struggles of the year 1848, upon one and the same platform."

We should also notice a new edition of "Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet, with Critical and Explanatory Remarks," by *Dr. Hermann Ulrici*. He says the best editions of Shakespeare are Knight's and Collier's; "nevertheless, it can be easily demonstrated, — and in the following tragedy I hope to have demonstrated it, — that they have not always followed the right critical principles, nor always hit the truth in single matters." He gives his reasons for thinking that Collier has greatly overvalued his new discovery, and adds: "The difference between Collier and myself consists simply in this, that, according to my conviction, the improvements of the text of the old corrector are to be adopted only after thorough consideration of each special case, that is, only where demonstrative objective reasons speak for a change of the text in general, and especially to favor the emendation proposed by the anonymous author; and that it were in the highest degree uncritical to follow his corrections blindly." On the worth of the different old editions he thus speaks in his Introduction to the play: "I differ in one point from the opinion of the modern English editors. These follow for the most part the readings of the quarto editions. Yet as it is in no way certain, nay, scarcely probable, that any one of these was published by Shakespeare himself, I think, therefore, that the folio edition, because printed on the whole according to the quarto edition of 1609, deserves the preference where it differs from the others, except when the variation is manifestly a misprint." The Professor is already well known as the author of a classical work on Shakespeare, and in this book the same principles of criticism are applied to the English poet that have been applied to the Greek and Latin authors. The other dramas, it is promised, shall follow if this volume meets with a favorable reception. We doubt very much, however, if the sale will warrant this, so many recent editions of Shakespeare have appeared, and the notes in this one relate too much to the criticism of the text to interest Germans, while English

readers perhaps will not be pleased with the alteration of sentences that are as familiar in their mouths as household words, or as the English version of the Bible. The author has endeavored to restore the original text according to the oldest codices, but it is manifest that much yet remains to be done; and if the text of Shakespeare is so unsettled, we need not certainly be surprised that the Gospel narratives contain so many different readings.

For the benefit of our theological readers, we may mention that the *Exegetical Handbook to the Old Testament* is complete, with the exception of No. XII., which will contain Exodus and Leviticus, and No. XIII., which will include Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, — both commentaries from Dr. *Knobel*, whose Genesis has been lately so well received. The *Exegetical Handbook to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament*, from Professors *Fritzsche* and *Grimm*, has reached the third part, which comments on the First Book of the Maccabees. The fourth part will explain the other books of the Maccabees, the fifth, the Fourth Book of Ezra and the Book of Wisdom, and the sixth, the Book of Jesus, the Son of Sirach. *Meyer's Handbook to the New Testament* has appeared in a second edition, with the exception of Acts, Philipians, and the following letters. *De Wette's Handbook*, in the new edition from *Brückner*, embraces as yet John's Gospel and Epistles, and Peter, James, and Jude. The second edition of *Ewald's History of the People of Israel* is just completed. *Gieseler's Church History* has been brought down to the year 1648. The last edition is this: I. 1. fourth ed., 1844; I. 2. fourth ed., 1845; II. 1. fourth ed., 1846; II. 2. fourth ed., 1848; II. 3. second ed., 1849; II. 4. 1835; III. 1. 1840; III. 2. 1853; in all, eight volumes. The *Corpus Reformatorum* now extends to Vol. XXI. Part I., Melancthon's Works. *Stier* and *Theile's Polyglot Bible*, with the original text, the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Luther's versions, in parallel columns, together with the chief variations of the principal German translators, has reached the fourth number of the first part of the third volume, which includes Job, the Song of Solomon, and Ruth; the New Testament is already finished.

We await with great interest the appearance of Dr. *Lücke's* "Dogmatik," second edition, which is now in press; the first edition was in the form of a compendium, and only for his hearers. Among other works forthcoming, we may mention a new edition of *Ewald's Commentary on Job*, of *Tholuck's Commentary on Romans*, and of *Guericke's Church History*. Professor *Rödiger* has just published the Indexes to *Gesenius's Thesaurus*, "Index Grammaticus et Analyticus," "Index Latinus," and "Index Locorum," so that the work is now complete. Professor *Hupfeld* is preparing an elaborate Commentary on the Psalms. *Müller* has in press, "The Character and Divine Right of the Evangelical Union." *Erdmann* is writing the History of German Philosophy since the death of Hegel. *Leo* is revising for publication his Lectures on the History of the German People, and *Humboldt* is preparing an Introduction to the Works of Arago, his friend for forty years.

Thus we have endeavored to give an account of the principal works that have appeared during the last few months which might interest theologians. It will be seen that, notwithstanding the clouds that have been gathering in the political horizon, and notwithstanding the storm that has burst upon the religious world from the side of the Catholic Church, the laborers have been toiling, as usual, diligently in the field,

and have brought in a rich and abundant harvest. What country can be compared, in literary activity, with Germany, where so much has been done for theology and philosophy during the last thirty years, that lectures are now read at the Universities by the respective Professors upon the history of these sciences since Schleiermacher and Hegel? And that this fame belongs not merely to the past, the presence of students from England, Scotland, Wales, France, Switzerland, Hungary, Poland, Greece, Canada, the United States, and New Grenada, (we speak only of those with whom we are personally acquainted,) and some of these Professors, abundantly attest. But why is it that Yale College has so many more representatives here than Harvard, and, while the theological seminaries of Andover, New Haven, and New York send so many of their sons to Germany, so few come hither from Cambridge? Is it because we are so wise at home that we can learn nothing from the Germans, or from fear, perhaps, that the truths we hold cannot stand the scrutiny of rigid criticism? The articles that have appeared upon Dr. Beecher's book, for example, as well as upon other matters of controversy, alike show ignorance of German scholarship, while the notions that are entertained of the state of theology and religion here are often utterly unfounded. Many of the classical works in theology, such as *Martensen's Dogmatik*, *Koethe's Ethik*, *Müller's Doctrine of Sin*, *Wieseler's Investigations*, and others, are scarcely known even by name; and when notices of new books are given in our journals, we are often ignorant of the character of their authors and of the class to which they belong. To remedy in some measure this deficiency, the present summary has been prepared. May it do something to promote a better acquaintance with German literature, and awaken a deeper interest in its study.

Halle, Feb. 1, 1854.

E. J. Y.

A Singular Mistake relating to Priestley. — The object of the following article is to place on record, and, if possible, elicit information as to the origin of a mistake in the history of opinions. The mistake is so singular, that the need of caution in taking any man's views at second hand is well evinced by it.

In England and in this country the views of Joseph Priestley on "Matter and Spirit," "The Intermediate State of the Dead," and "The Resurrection," are probably familiar to a majority of such as take an interest in the history of these questions. He held that the soul has no existence separately from the body, and therefore no conscious existence between death and the resurrection. For the benefit of readers who may not have access to his writings, we will quote from two of his works.

"The doctrine of the Scripture is that God made man of the *dust of the ground*, and, by simply animating this organized matter, made him that living, percipient, and intelligent being that he is. According to revelation, *death* is a state of rest and insensibility, and our only, though sure, hope of a future life is founded on the doctrine of the resurrection of the whole man at some distant period. . . .

"On the contrary, the doctrine of philosophy on this subject is, that there are two distinct principles in man, a body and a soul, the latter of which comes from heaven and returns to it again when the body dies." — *Priestley on Matter and Spirit*, Vol. I. pp. 294, 295.

"I think the doctrine of an intermediate state can never be effectually extirpated, so long as the belief of a separate soul is retained. For while that is supposed to exist independently of the body, it will not easily be imagined to sleep along with it, but will be thought to enjoy more or less of a consciousness of its existence.

"But when, agreeably to the dictates of reason, as well as the testimony of Scripture rightly understood, we shall acquiesce in the opinion that man is a homogeneous being, and that the powers of thought and sensation belong to the brain, as much as gravity and magnetism belong to other arrangements of matter, the whole fabric of superstition which had [has] been built on the doctrine of a soul and its separate conscious state must fall at once. And this persuasion will give a value to the Gospel which it could not have before; as it will be found to supply the only satisfactory evidence of a future life. . . .

"To give this value to revelation, by proving the proper and complete mortality of man on the principles of reason and Scripture, is the object of my Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit, to which, and also to what I have added in support of it in my discussion of the subject with Dr. Price, I beg leave to refer my readers."—*History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, Vol. I. pp. 399, 400, edit. 1793.

To appreciate the mistake which we are about to record, it should be mentioned that of the last quoted work, which appeared in 1782, no less than two German translations were published, according to Pierer's *Universal Lexicon*, in 1785, one at Hamburg and the other at Berlin. Furthermore, Muenscher, the German scholar whom we shall first quote, was professedly an historian of opinions, and one who would generally, we suppose, be classed among the more able of them. He was acquainted with Priestley's *History of Corruptions*, for he mentions the foregoing translations as distinct ones. (*Handbuch der Ch. Dogmengeschichte*, Einleitung, § 21, note 65, Vol. I. p. 80, 3d edit.) And he regarded Priestley as a man of much reputation, for he thinks that his reputation gave an undeserved circulation to this work. (Ibid. § 21, pp. 80, 81.) Yet Muenscher in his *Lehrbuch der Christlichen Dogmengeschichte* says, "Joseph Priestley placed the resurrection of men immediately after their death." The quotation may be found in the "Elements of Dogmatic History, by William Muenscher, translated [from the foregoing] by Dr. Murdock," § 206, p. 201, where a note of Dr. Murdock's will also be found, correcting the error.

We at first supposed that Muenscher, in penning the above, had misapprehended the sense of some English passage, and the following seemed readily to admit such misapprehension. We quote it from Priestley's "Notes on all the Books of Scripture" (1803), p. xvii. of the Preface. It may also be found in "Views of Christian Truth, Piety, and Morality, selected from the Writings of Dr. Priestley, . . . by H. Ware, Jr." (1834), on pp. 206, 207.

"The nearer I am to death, the nearer I am continually thinking I am to the great scenes that will open to me after it, and to my apprehension immediately after it."

The passage means that its writer expected to be conscious of nothing between death and the resurrection. It might be misunderstood as meaning, that, according to his present apprehension of the case, the future life would open upon him immediately after death.

Whilst attributing the error to some such misconception of language, we met with it in the writings of another scholar, a prominent theologian

of Germany, and one who, though not professedly an historian of opinions, had devoted parts of more than one of his works to the subject of Doctrinal History. Bretschneider, in his *Handbuch der Dogmatik* (Vol. II. p. 418, 4th edit.), states that "Priestley and some others regarded the resurrection as taking place directly after death, the soul being clothed immediately with a new perceptive organization," and in support of this statement places the following reference in his note: "Priestley attempts to prove that the resurrection follows immediately after death, in the *British Magazine*, Vol. IV. Part II." From another allusion by Bretschneider (Vol. II. p. 396 in the note) to this *British Magazine*, it appears to have been published at Halle in 1773; in German, no doubt, for the title of the article which Bretschneider quotes on p. 418 is given by him in German.

Hagenbach, one of the latest, and who has been reckoned among the most accurate, of doctrinal historians, follows Bretschneider. In his *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, § 305, note 5 (Vol. II. p. 425, 2d edit.), he says: "Priestley, dispensing with the intermediate state, endeavored to harmonize the Biblical doctrine of a resurrection with the philosophical view of immortality, by assuming for the soul a [perceptive] organ, which should develop itself at death." As he refers to the same volume and part of the *British Magazine*, with a subsequent reference to Bretschneider, it is probable that he based his remarks on Bretschneider's statement.

The first edition of Hagenbach's work was translated into English by C. W. Buck, and published in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, at Edinburgh, under the title, "Compendium of the History of Doctrines." We turned to this translation, and found (Vol. II. p. 464) the same statement, with no note of correction. This was in a library intended as a standard one, and intended, moreover, for circulation in the language and in the native country of Priestley, whilst the recollection of the controversies in which he was engaged had not died out. Any one who, a few centuries hence, should peruse the work, might not unnaturally think that he had little reason to distrust its statement on such a point.

And now is there any one who has access to the above-mentioned *British Magazine*, and who will favor the public with an examination of the article attributed to Dr. Priestley? Did he ever in youth write such an article? or has it been erroneously attributed to him? As a matter of curiosity, if for no better reason, the subject deserves investigation. Muenscher's *Lehrbuch*, above referred to, was published in 1811, and republished in 1819. The four editions of Bretschneider's *Dogmatik* appeared from 1814 to 1838. Hagenbach's *Dogmengeschichte* was published in 1840, and republished in 1846; and the Edinburgh (from the first German) edition appeared in 1847. One would think that ample time had been allowed to the scholars of Germany, if not of England, for correcting the mistake. Yet its only correction, so far as we have noticed, is the American one already mentioned, from the pen of Dr. Murdock.

Unitarian Publications. — There have appeared three numbers of "The Quarterly Journal of the American Unitarian Association." This new periodical we would welcome with a cordial good-will, both because it supplies a real want, and because it supplies that want

so well. We receive it as one of several recent tokens of a new and invigorating impulse which our Association has received through the energy of the present General Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Miles. That office has indeed been filled from the first by men who through it have served us with an earnest and well-esteemed fidelity. Each successive incumbent of it has brought to it a gift of his own, a skill in the formation of new plans, or a zeal which has thrown animation into old plans, or such a desire to discharge his trust effectively that some peculiar agency in our general object has been made more prominent through his exertions. Dr. Miles has abilities for his work which lead us to entertain high expectations of what he will accomplish. In this Quarterly Journal we have a publication which stands between a tract and a book. The three numbers that have been issued embrace a variety of contents, all bearing directly upon the interests and duties of our denomination as held to a very sacred responsibility in the great Christian work of our age.—Statistical information, doctrinal and devotional instruction, matters of business, notices of books, letters, obituaries, historical sketches, accounts of Unitarian conventions and business meetings, and records of passing events in our churches, find a fairly proportioned space in these pages. We look to the wide circulation of the Journal as a means of greatly increased interest in our cause.

On April 1st was issued from the press at Montreal the fourth number of a new monthly periodical, called "The Liberal Christian: a Monthly Miscellany, designed to illustrate the Spirit of Liberal Christianity and to promote the Practical Religious Life." We suppose that this journal is one of the many good works which have been instigated by the Rev. Mr. Corder, who is serving his own flock and our cause by his faithful labors continued unremittingly year after year. We should think the contents of these pamphlets well adapted both to the elementary instruction of inquirers into our views, and to the building up of the work already commenced in the hearts and minds of those who are already in our communion.

New Books.

Mr. Samuel G. Drake has published No. VIII. of his "History and Antiquities of Boston," the plan and excellences of which we have before noticed. As the work advances, we have increasing evidence of the thorough and pains-taking researches which are bestowed upon its contents. The thread of the story is now brought down to the year 1669. Very elaborate notes, embracing all sorts of antiquarian matters, heraldic devices, rich steel engravings, and tasteful wood-cuts, make each page valuable and attractive. The spirit with which the plan has thus far been pursued should prompt a generous support of the undertaking, the nature of which is such as to justify a claim for patronage to be extended to it as it progresses, instead of being deferred till its completion.

Redfield, of New York, is publishing a handsome edition of the novels of W. Gilmore Simms. "The Partisan," "Mellichampe," and "The Yemassee," have already appeared. Mr. Simms holds a high rank

among American novelists. His writings, so far as we are acquainted with them, are devoted to the illustration of the history and manners of our Southern States during the Colonial and Revolutionary period. He constructs a story happily, and is well qualified, by literary culture and historical research, for the department of literature which he has chosen.

The same publisher has issued, in two volumes, "*The Poetical Works of William H. C. Hosmer.*" Our readers are more or less familiar with some of the contents of these volumes which have circulated in papers and periodicals, and have assured for their author a distinguished fame. They contain pieces of striking merit, rich with the true poetic beauty.

"*Classic and Historic Portraits*, by James Bruce," is another of Redfield's publications. It contains nearly sixty sketches of the most distinguished men and women in the world's history,—the good and the bad, the lofty and the lowly in station, selected from every age, class, and nation, and from every field of fame. For those who have but few books, this volume will make up for many deficiencies in their literary resources. It is marked by good taste and a right spirit, and is judicious in its selection of subjects, and in its awards to each.

Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co. continue their series of volumes of the British Poets, by three volumes containing the Poetical Works of Churchill, and by two containing those of Hood. We are glad to learn that this generous enterprise, in which the publishers make a very large investment, and offer the gems of literature at a very cheap price, relying upon an extensive sale, is well rewarded by the public. The attractive style in which the works appear shows to advantage more and more, as the volumes multiply. That all within the covers of each volume should be embraced within the general commendation which a competent tribunal has pronounced upon the British Poets, is, of course, not claimed. But the works must answer to their titles. We think the publishers have done wisely in introducing the poems of Hood at this stage of their undertaking, as an earnest that some of our best modern writers shall have their places in the series.

"*Suggestive Thoughts for a Holy Life. Being Selections from Modern Authors.*" (London: E. T. Whitefield. Diamond, pp 96.) This little gem, which sparkles through each sentence that it contains, is one of the multiplying fruits of the press which give us the condensed thoughts of the wise and the good, from a very wide range of authors, and help to foster a spirit of generous and catholic piety.

Messrs. Stringer & Townsend, of New York, have published a most valuable and interesting work, in two volumes, under the following title: "*History of the French Protestant Refugees, from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to our own Days.*" By M. Charles Weiss. Translated from the French by Henry William Herbert. With an American Appendix, by a Descendant of the Huguenots." The popularity that has secured a large circulation for the two works of Bunger, which have been translated here, will have excited such an interest in the subject-matter of these two volumes by Weiss, that they will be sure to be gratefully received by many readers. They are of profound interest, and are perfectly reliable in their contents.

Messrs. G. P. Putnam & Co., of New York, have issued the fourth volume of their elegant and complete edition of Addison's Works, under the editorial care of George W. Greene, Esq. The present volume is devoted to the papers from the Spectator. The work leaves us nothing to desire on the score of internal or external qualities. The annotations of all the best critics and illustrative reviewers are given to us generously, and they help much to enrich the volumes. One more volume will complete the work.

The same firm have published a revised edition of J. P. Kennedy's admirable story, called "Rob of the Bowl, a Legend of St. Inigoe's,"—one of the very best American productions.

C. S. Francis & Co., of New York, have published, from the seventh foreign edition, "The Dietetica of the Soul, by Ernest von Feuchtersleben, M.D." This is an ingenious treatise upon the mutual relations between the higher and the lower nature in health and in disease; not dealing, however, in any elaborate theory, but offering some very sensible thoughts on the subject.

Messrs. Ticknor, Reed, & Fields have just issued a most attractive volume, from the pen of the eldest daughter of William and Mary Howitt, entitled, "An Art-Student in Munich." Its table of contents gives promise of a most lively series of sketches of something besides paintings, and seems to assure the reader of much rich and entertaining information.

OBITUARY.

REV. ALEXANDER YOUNG, D.D. — One of the churches of our denomination has lost a faithful minister, the whole company of his brethren a cherished associate, and the larger community of letters a diligent and sound scholar, by the death of Alexander Young. Nearly a generation has passed since he took his place in public life, the successor of Francis W. P. Greenwood, Samuel Cooper Thacher, and John Thornton Kirkland. We go back no further, because we have no wish to record more than we can affectionately remember. But these were names, to be held in loving respect for generations that are yet to come. Under the Presidency of the oldest of those excellent men, he passed through the privileges, labors, and honors of his student life at our University. The second of them died abroad in early manhood, while our friend was still pursuing there the studies of an undergraduate. With the youngest of the three, though succeeding to his pulpit, he enjoyed professional and brotherly communion for almost a score of years afterwards, when, in 1843, that fine spirit took leave of men. This was the last instance of the burial of a minister of our faith in Boston dying in his pastorate, till on Monday, the 20th of March, the New South Church was hung with the same signs of mourning that had darkened the King's Chapel eleven years before; and its dead pastor was laid before the pulpit, where they both had been successively consecrated to the sacred work which was to task and honor the whole of their after-lives.

The funeral services on this occasion were conducted by Rev. Rufus Ellis of the First Church, Rev. Dr. Lothrop of the Brattle Street Church, and Rev. Dr. Blagden of the Old South. A crowded and sympathizing assembly was addressed by the Rev. Dr. Gannett, in an earnest discourse on the life and character of the deceased. We will not call it a eulogy, for it was not meant to be one, and was something better. It was a just and discriminating survey of his private worth and public services. It exaggerated nothing for the sake of effect. It assigned to the subject of it a distinguished place among our faithful men, which, if higher than they who knew him but little were prepared to hear, they who knew him best acknowledged that he fully deserved. On the following Lord's day, a commemorative sermon was preached to his bereaved congregation by Rev. George E. Ellis, who as a schoolboy had sat under his ministry, and in after-days highly appreciated his fellowship. Both discourses will probably be in the hands of our readers before these lines can be issued. The periodical press, also, secular as well as religious, has already offered in many places its tribute of respect. We cannot withhold, however, in justice either to our own feelings or to the memory of our friend, a still further notice of him, though it may sound like a repetition, and must come late.

Like his two immediate predecessors, Dr. Young was born in the same town of Boston where he exercised his ministry. He acquired his first taste for Classical letters at the public Latin School, then just raised into the high repute which it has retained ever since. From thence to Harvard College was an easy step, and at that institution he was graduated in 1820. On Commencement day, he pronounced the Salutatory Oration in Latin; a part honorable to his scholarship, and indicating the favorite bent of his studies. He then entered the Divinity School connected with the University, which at that time was rich with the instructions of the late Mr. Norton, the Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature, whose genius for his work was extraordinary, and whose influence over the minds of his pupils was of a kind never to be forgotten. He imparted a vivid interest to all that he taught; and his teaching was of that direct and positive kind, which never left any doubt on what doctrinal ground he who gave it stood. We are persuaded that this is the only method of theological instruction that can kindle the hearts of learners, the only one that can be either efficient or safe. On the 19th of January, 1825, Dr. Young assumed that pastoral relation which he retained and conscientiously served in till the time of his death.

His style of preaching was grave and solid; not so much calculated to stir the feelings as to guide the judgment of the hearers. His sermons were composed with serious aims and scholarly care, and were delivered with a solemn but not artificial or oppressive dignity. Afflictive events in his parish, or intimately connected with it, often called him to speak in eulogy of distinguished persons; and he was quite remarkable for the elaborate fidelity with which those duties were discharged. He so methodized his sacred studies and labors as to present himself always at the proper time calmly and well prepared. He was not so much a man of imagination and of sentiment as of exact observance; but if he was less ardent than many, he was true and just. He was not versatile; but he could always be relied on in the line that he chose to take. His dispositions were certainly not impulsive, but his acts were steadfast, and the manner of them becoming, — and a constant

principle is more excellent than fitful emotions. In his theological opinions he was about equally removed from the extreme left and the extreme right of the Unitarian party. As to the modes and habits of clerical activity, he was eminently conservative. He loved the old ways of conducting sacred offices and maintaining religious influence; — the ways of our New England fathers, so far as these seemed to him consistent with liberal ideas and the freedom that belongs to an emancipated age. He inherited their aversion to hierarchies of every sort, and even the usages of the Episcopal Church in our own country came in for their share of his jealous dislike. He loved simplicity in everything; — nobleness and beauty of all kinds, but still simple. The paths that had been trodden by so many revered and precious feet within his own remembrance were enough for him. From these he did not care to deviate in any considerable degree.

Through the points of character now touched, one may easily draw, we think, the full description of what a cultivated mind and a Christian heart, such as his were, would be likely to accomplish in his ministerial labor and conversation. But apart from the duties of his professional station, he was ready to admit other claims upon his mind and time. Towards the neighboring University he always owned allegiance and felt a filial affection. He was fitted to serve it, and he did serve it devotedly. Only a little more than a year ago, he retired with evident reluctance from the Secretaryship of its Board of Overseers, giving way before the new measures which have for some time been throwing the College into the whirlpool of politics, and which cannot be supposed to have reached anything like their end yet, when so much is left to be compassed by theological manœuvring, sectional antipathies, and partisan ambition. He found leisure also for the gratification of his tastes in his chosen studies. The classic writers of Rome and of the elder England were a continual solace to him; and he was deeply versed in the history of our forefathers, during their early, struggling fortunes. The last of these interests has been signalized by his "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth," and "Chronicles of the First Planters of the Massachusetts Bay." The second of them has been attested by his "Selections from the Old English Prose-Writers." His fondness for the Latin literature might have been seen in the readiness with which his less practised friends were accustomed to resort to him on points of minute or doubtful criticism.

Thus all his habits were those of a scholar and a divine. He was little seen in the great, gay world. The narrower one of parochial intimacy and domestic attachments, of his associates in the ministry and the silent acquaintances upon the shelves of his library, kept him well occupied. In all but the most private and familiar intercourse, though he could speak well, and never failed to do so when he spoke at all, he was not eager to display this talent; but chose rather to give that watchful, encouraging attention which was almost as good as speech. His companions, whether in a wider or narrower circle, will painfully miss his pleasant gravity, with the keen smile that beamed through it, his intelligent and friendly spirit, and his useful coöperation. While he was with them, perhaps some of them were not aware that they should miss and lament him so much as they do.

The life of this exemplary clergyman and courteous gentleman was marked by no unusual incidents. Men of his pursuits and his tempera-

ment are not apt to encounter such. It was a prosperous and a happy life. He provoked no strifes; he grasped at nothing beyond his reach; he allowed himself to be tormented as little as possible with what he could not help; and was contented with the tranquil blessings of his lot. He enjoyed his reasonable share of public favor; and enjoyed also the consciousness that it was not more than he had fairly entitled himself to receive. It pleased God to make him happy in his private home,—that compensating spot, to which the weary heart retreats from the agitations that are abroad and within, and from all disappointments of the world. The incessant cares of his pulpit did not overstrain him, nor make him unduly anxious; and his literary pursuits were a refreshment to him. He felt, too, that he was surrounded by a great multitude of respectful and kindly regards; more than fall to the ordinary portion even of good men. He had his mortifications and trials, like the rest of us. But he studied to bear them in silence, and they were never permitted to gnaw deeper than they ought into his spirit.

So graciously did the Divine Providence deal with him in the circumstances of his busy days. It was equally gracious when the last of his days drew nigh. He was separated but by a few weeks from the full discharge of the duties of his holy office. He was surrounded with the attentions of those who were dearest to him. His illness was not only short, but, considering its fatal character, remarkably free from great bodily suffering. He had not a moment's distress of mind, nor the least wandering of the mind. He was probably at no time aware that he was mortally stricken. His last word was one of kind urgency to his wife, that she would "now sleep"; and then he himself fell asleep, like a tired and satisfied child. There are many beautiful ways of vanishing out of life. One person will give inspiring lessons such as will never be forgotten,—more impressive from the pillow of patient sickness than from any pulpit cushion,—and go through with a scene of tender parting from those whom he shall see no more in the flesh. And this is a noble thing. But the scene will be one of severe trial on all sides, and the words of wisdom and love will be spoken in pain. Another will depart amidst the glad but deceptive visions of a fevered brain; and this will be called, and sometimes rightly, a great mercy. Another will rise upon the wing of a real, self-conscious triumph, towards a higher state of being; and this will generally be accounted a greater mercy still. But to our thinking, when nature is exhausted and nothing further is left to be performed,—where the life has been an instruction, and the whole conduct has shown sufficiently well all that any last words could express,—the most aspiring soul might be willing to declare that such a close as we have just related was abundantly blest. No struggle,—no pang,—no thought of harm. Into peace,—peace.

We can salute his spirit, as it passes from among our number, with no more suitable language than we find written upon a tomb in the Roman catacombs. The brief monumental terms are full both of affectionate regard and Christian hope:—*VALE. IN MELIVS.*

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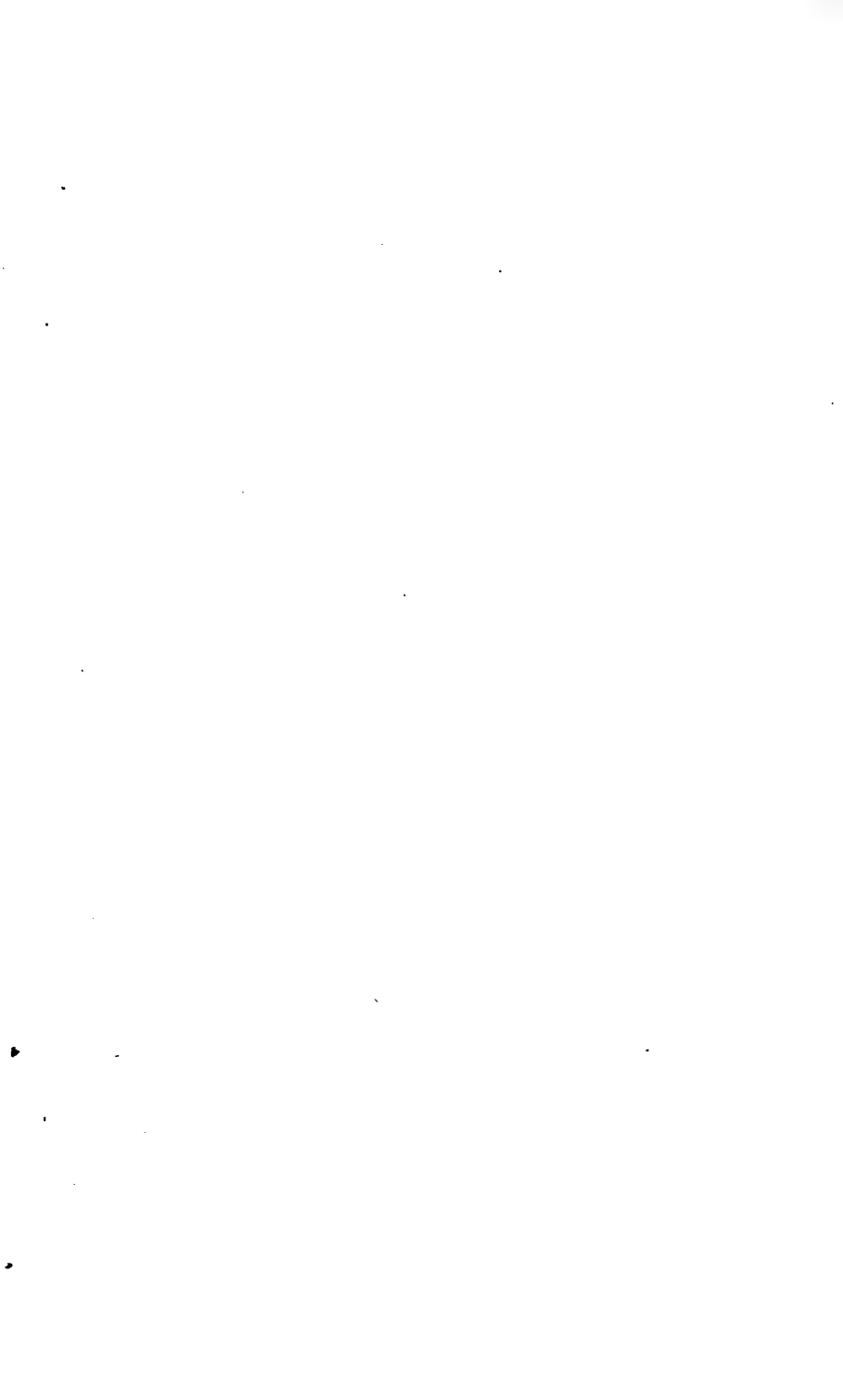
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